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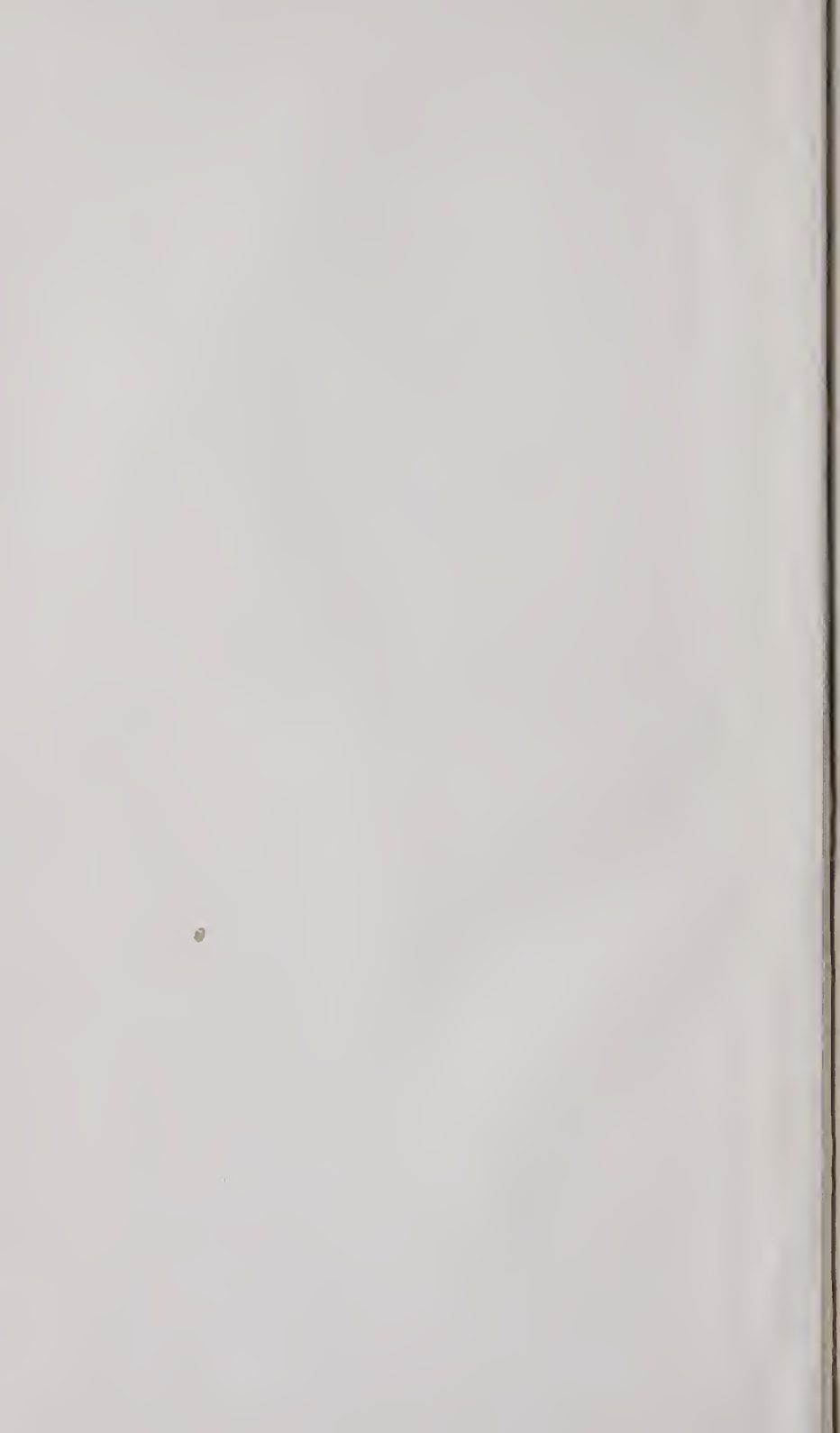
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# The Princeton Theological Review

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# The Princeton Theological Review

JANUARY, 1914

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## THE BIBLE AS THE TEXT-BOOK IN SOCIOLOGY

We are accustomed to regard the Bible as *the* text-book, because the authority, in dogmatics and ethics. Our "Confession of Faith" (Chap. i. 10) says: "The Supreme Judge, by whom all controversies of religion are to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men and private spirits are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture." Our "Longer Catechism", in response to the inquiry, "What is the Word of God?" replies: "The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the Word of God, the only rule of faith and obedience." Our "Shorter Catechism", in answer to the question, "What do the Scriptures principally teach?" says: "The Scriptures principally teach what man is to believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of man." Our "Form of Government" obliges all our church officers, ministers, ruling-elders and deacons, to affirm that they "believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the only infallible rule of faith and practice" (Chap. xiii. 4 and Chap. xv. 12). Our Book of Discipline says: "Nothing shall be the object of judicial process, which cannot be proved to be contrary to the Holy Scriptures, or to the regulation and practice of the Church founded thereon" (Chap. i. 4). Our "Directory for the Worship of God" in a footnote explanatory of its title is careful to state as follows: "The Scripture-warrant for what is specified in the various articles of this Directory, will be found at large in the Confession of Faith and Catechisms, in the places where the subjects are treated in a doctrinal form." These several



declarations have been interpreted to mean, as it would seem to be self-evident that they were meant to mean, that all that the Bible requires in dogmatics and ethics and, indeed, as regards their expression in religion, must be received and that nothing which it does not require in these spheres may be imposed.

The question before us is, Does all this apply, and apply in the same sense, in sociology? Is there a "divine order of human society"; and does the Bible, and the Bible alone, set forth this order? Is it true that with respect to the family, the nation, the church, the race, the kingdom of God, the great institutes which are the subjects of Christian sociology, the Bible gives us what we find nowhere else; and that all that it gives us in this field, as in that of dogmatics and ethics, is infallible and authoritative? Is it so that whatever the Bible requires in the case of these institutes is also the law and that nothing which it does not require may be made the law? This is the question to be considered.

None could be so pertinent or more evidently important. None could be so pertinent, because, as Prof. Francis Greenwood Peabody remarked in substance, "The problems of the social world are undoubtedly the problems of to-day. Social unrest is *the* fact of contemporary life. No institution of society—the family, the state, or the church—is too stable or too sacred to be assailed." So, too, no question could be more evidently important. If the Bible is *the* authority in sociology, then what our age needs most to know is the trend and the extent of this authority. Only thus can it answer the inquiry in which it is most interested, and which is most insistent, and yet it is from almost every source but this that most are now seeking the answer.

I. We assert, then, that the Bible is as truly the authority and so the text-book in sociology as it is in dogmatics and ethics, and we assert this for the following reasons:

(1) The Bible is *the* text-book in religion, and a pro-



gressive or even a permanent civil society or nation is impossible without religion. That the Bible is the great religious text-book, we have just seen: this is the fundamental presupposition of all our standards. That a progressive or even a permanent civil society is impossible without religion, this results from the nature of things and is also one of the clearest teachings of history. The institute of rights, an avowedly unmoral nation is a contradiction in terms; and, as Washington said in his Farewell Address, "Reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles." We see the truth of this specially in connection with the most pressing and difficult social problems. As the Hon. Carroll D. Wright, U. S. Commissioner of Labor, remarked recently, "Religion is the only solution of the conflict between labor and capital. The Decalogue is a good platform. Religious education must bring about an alliance of ethics and economics in the welfare of mankind." Nay, we must go further. What has just been observed of the necessity of religion in general, must be affirmed of Christianity in particular. Says Prof. R. E. Thompson, "History is the biography of nations,—not of the whole body of mankind in all stages of arrested or of continuous development, but of those bodies politic, which have not stereotyped their institutions, which have contributed a share to the common wealth of civilization, and which have influenced each other for good. In modern times this group of nations is all but coincident with Christendom. It is only the Christian nation which has been able to garner the experience of the past—Hebraic and Hellenic, Roman and Teutonic—and to carry forward its development to still higher ends. It is within Christendom that history is not wasted and the past not barren for men, and this because we have learned to see in it the leading hand of the living God" (*The Divine Order of Human Society*, p. 121). In a word, it is only on a Christian foundation that society is truly progressive.

The reason for this should be plain. Religion has been described, not altogether inadequately, as "the sum of our relations to God". A truly religious man must, then, be conceived as a man who stands in right relations to God; and in like manner, a truly religious society must be regarded as a society that stands in right relations to God. Such a society will be one that acknowledges God, that obeys God, that draws its life from God, that glorifies God. This, however, is as important in the case of society as in that of the individual. That "we live and move and have our being" in God and that we "were created by Him and for Him",—all this is as true of men socially as it is of man individually. The government, "the powers that be", through which society develops itself, have been ordained of God. "By Him kings reign and princes decree justice." His benevolence is the source of all wealth. His law is the way of peace and happiness for nations and for communities as truly as for individuals. That "in His favor is life and His loving kindness is better than life,"—this applies to the social organism as such as really as to its members. Because of what God is and because of the relation of dependence in which society stands to Him, it must be that "righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people". In emphasizing, therefore, authoritatively, the supreme importance of true religion, that is of right relations to God and, therefore, to Christ who is the revelation of God, the Bible, so far from being outside of the domain of sociology, is teaching just that which is most fundamental to it. Our religious relations underlie and ultimately determine our social relations. An utterly irreligious society would be hell.

(2) Sociology is implicated in, and is the result of, dogmatics and ethics.

Christian ethics is not an independent science. It is the consequence of the application, to and in individual human lives, of the facts of Christian dogmatics. The prophets of the Old Testament were great ethical teachers because of

their intense realization of God, and their ethical teaching was uniquely high and pure because their conception of God was true. In affirming monotheism, therefore, they were teaching ethics. They were not only giving religious instruction, but they were giving the one kind of religious instruction on which a true ethics could be based.

It is the same in the New Testament. Right conduct is never set forth independently of right belief. The moral teaching of the closing chapters of the Romans is presented as the requirement of the plan of salvation as given in the body of the epistle. It is by the mercies of God, as we might say because of the mercies of God, which Paul has been expounding in the previous eleven chapters, that he beseeches us to present our bodies living sacrifices, holy, acceptable to God, which is our reasonable service, and then goes on to show in detail what such consecration involves. Who may say, consequently, that Paul's dogmatic teaching is without authority for ethics? On the contrary, it reveals the root and principle of Christian ethics.

Precisely this is the meaning of our Lord when He says, "This is the work of God that ye believe on Him whom He hath sent" (John vi. 29). The great thing that God would have us do is to believe on His Son. That is, faith in Christ is the primary, the germinal, and in that sense the all-comprehending virtue: Christian ethics is to appreciate and to appropriate Christian dogmatics. Indeed, we may be and should be more precise. It is to understand and to fulfill the divine plan. It is to do the works which "God afore prepared that we should walk in them". It must be, therefore, that the dogmatic portions of the Bible are of authority, are *the* authority, in Christian ethics. "The duty which God requires of man" is the result of, is involved in, and can be learned from, only "what we are to believe concerning God".

Can it, however, be otherwise in the case of sociology? Will it not in like manner be implicated in Christian ethics and so in Christian dogmatics? Certainly. Social ethics,

which discusses what society ought to be, to do, and to become, presupposes individual ethics, which treats of what the individual ought to be, to do, and to become. This is so because society presupposes, depends on, and is impossible without, its constituent members. While society is other than and more than the sum of the individuals that compose it, it is only in them and because of them, and as they, that it exists. An analogy is often pointed out in this respect between the social and the physical organism. Paul himself does so in 1 Corinthians xii. As the health and vigor of the body depend on the health and vigor of its members, so it is with the Christian society or church, "the body of Christ". "Whether one member suffereth, all the members suffer with it, or one member is honored, all the members rejoice with it." This analogy, however, while true, falls short of the whole truth. The physical body and the body politic are both organisms, but the latter is an ethical organism. That is, its members are ends in themselves. The foot must be honored, but it is for the sake of the body. The individual members of society, too, must be perfected; but this is not simply because the welfare of society depends on them; it is also because society realizes its end only in and through the perfection of its individual members. It exists for them rather than they for it. Social righteousness, therefore, presupposes and has its purpose in individual righteousness; and consequently, just because the Bible is the authority in and for individual ethics, it must be the authority, too, in social ethics. It cannot teach the former and not teach what is most essential in the latter.

And this is a truth that can scarcely be emphasized too much to-day. The trend of our age is toward the depreciation of the individual. Machinery has ruled out handicraft. The lecture has taken the place of private instruction. The shepherd of souls who knows his own sheep by name is giving way to the evangelist who converts sinners in the mass and who has no sheep of his own to know by name

or even by sight. Sociology is a more popular study than theology and the reason is that it puts its stress not on individual regeneration but on social reformation. In a word, what society does not want, but needs all the more urgently, is a renewed emphasis on the individual; and therefore, the Bible, which is dominated by the spirit of the question, "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" is not only, as we have seen, the authority in sociology, but the most pertinent authority. In affirming the individuality of each man's relation to God it affirms both what is most essential in the foundation of any true sociology, and also that which in our day most demands recognition.

So, too, like individual ethics, and through its relation to individual ethics, Christian sociology is implicated in the Christian religion. It is what and as it is because of the revelation which God has made of Himself in Christ. It is determined throughout by the great fact of redemption. This is cosmical as well as individual. There is a "divine order of human society". Hence what our ecclesiastical fathers used to call the "*amplitudo regni Dei*". They conceived of God as redeeming and so as regenerating and ruling over all right human relationships as well as the individual men and women who entered into these relationships. They conceived of Christ as Lord of the family and as King of the nation, as truly as Head of the church or the Life of the individual Christian. They taught that all philosophy and science and art and commerce—all legitimate human interests, must be "brought into captivity to the obedience of Christ"; and that the ideal society could be realized only as His will was done on earth as it is in heaven. Must not, then, the Bible, the infallible because inspired revelation of that will to us, be *the* authority in sociology? Because it is this for religion, and because sociology is implicated in religion as in ethics, it could not be otherwise.



(3) The Bible contains much information and gives much instruction which is directly sociological. Dr. Crafts, in his *Practical Christian Sociology*, p. 30, says that "there is more material for Biblical sociology than for Biblical theology". I cannot agree with him. He has studied the Bible, as many do, from his own standpoint only. Nevertheless, there is ample ground for his taking his standpoint. Were he not to do so, he would be untrue to the Bible. And we should be equally untrue to it, were we not to do so. The social or sociological aspects of the Scriptures are so many and so important as to demand attention as such. Even a general and cursory study of the Word of God must reveal to every reader, not blinded by his own outlook, how large a portion of it is concerned with man in his collective capacity. As Samuel E. Keeble has said in his admirable book, *The Social Teaching of the Bible*, nations, tribes, cities, communities, classes, families, constantly come under the socio-religious regard of the sacred writers. "Their social relationships and their social morality, their social woes and their social sins, their whole collective life, receives careful, detailed, often passionate and always memorable attention."

This is conspicuously true of the Old Testament. "The Prophets, especially, are full of instruction on sociological problems." "As Professor Seeley says, 'their utterances are instinct with the sense of the national life, the national vocation, the continuity of the national history'." Read what Mr. J. S. Mill, in his work on *Representative Government*, declares of their function in carrying the development of national life in Judea to a point never reached by any other Oriental people, in dissociating the national religion from the blind conservatism which elsewhere stereotyped institutions, in making liberty and movement possible. But what is thus true of the Prophets in particular is as true of the Old Testament as a whole. As Prof. R. E. Thompson has written (*The Divine Order of Human Society*, p. 6), "Until we

perceive that the Hebrew nation is the type of all national life, and that its history is meant to illustrate the laws of that life, what shall we make of all this ado over kings and wars and revolutions? What else is the use of a great part of the Old Testament? Why is it included in the canon at all?" This reasoning is strengthened by the fact that the Old Testament is not an ordinary chronicle of the national evolution of the Hebrews. As the editor of the *Biblical World* for 1901 remarks, "it is the theistic interpretation of such evolution". As I would add, it is the supernatural and, consequently, infallible interpretation of it. In a word, the Old Testament, while primarily and chiefly the supernatural record of the divine preparation for the Messiah, is at the same time other than this; it is also God's text-book of national life.

When we come to the New Testament, we find the sociological element equally, although differently, prominent. In the words again of Prof. R. E. Thompson (*The Divine Order of Human Society*, p. 7), "The Baptist and our Lord both begin their mission by proclaiming, not a way of salvation for individuals, but a kingdom of heaven,—a new order of society, a holy and universal brotherhood transcending all national limitations, and embracing or aiming to embrace, the whole family of man. It is the laws of that kingdom, the conditions of life within it, that our Lord sets forth in His chief discourses. It is the nature of that kingdom and its relation to that of Tiberius Cæsar which are mooted at His trial before the Roman procurator. It is for the establishment of a kingdom that He sends forth His apostles to bring the old world to an end and the new to its birth. Through all their labors, their preachings, their epistles, they are concerned with the relations of men within this kingdom, this "city that hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God". And our canon closes with the vision of its coming down from heaven to earth to permeate and pervade all the families, fellowships, and nations of men with its divine principles.

Now, the questions which at once suggest themselves are, Can information and instruction which bulk so largely and so prominently in both testaments, be mere by-products? Can no more authority attach to the sociological utterances of the Bible than to its statements in the sphere of science, which statements, while always true in the sense in which they were intended, are not regarded by us as authoritative in the sense of final deliverances? On the contrary, is it not what we should expect, in view of the way in which and the degree to which social ethics is implicated in and determined by dogmatics and individual ethics—is it not just what we should expect that so much of God's Word would have a sociological character and purpose; and does not the fact that it has warrant the inference that its sociology is as authoritative as the dogmatic and ethical teaching that demands and determines it? Involved in them and having the same aim with them, it must be equal to them in authority, and how could this be emphasized more strongly than by the prominence which God Himself has given to it in His own Word?

(4) The Bible is the *final revelation* of the will of God for man in his present state of existence. This is either the direct or the implied teaching of each one of our standards. They all represent the Scriptures as giving the last word with regard to "faith and practice" as clearly as Paul teaches this when he says in Galatians i. 8, 9: "Though we, or an angel from heaven, should preach unto you any gospel other than that which we preached unto you, let him be anathema. As we have said before, so say I now again, if any man preacheth unto you any gospel other than that which ye received, let him be anathema." It follows, therefore, that, unless the Bible be the final and so adequate authority also in sociology as in dogmatics and ethics, then we have no such authority in sociology. That is to say, we have no absolute norm for social development; we have no sufficient ideal for social realization; there is no "divine



order of human society": and, consequently, there is, in the last analysis, nothing for us to do in the social sphere but to lie around, Micawberlike, and see what will turn up. It is not ours to determine in accordance with the divine plan the evolution of society; it is only ours to be evolved. The mere statement of this position should be its refutation.

Nowhere is it more important that there should be *an* authority than in sociology. The fact is that in the social sphere no more than in the individual one can we simply lie around and be evolved. Society is made up of men, not of stones, not even of beasts: and it is characteristic of men, it is *the* characteristic of men, that they are self-conscious; that they evolve themselves; that they themselves work out the plan of God for them, and that, consequently, they "live and move and have their being" in "the realm of ends", of ideals, of authority. To take the ground of the alarmingly popular naturalistic and mechanistic philosophy that, instead of determining and so evolving himself, man is merely determined and evolved—this is to shut your eyes to what man is, even more than if one were to deny that he is an animal and so must breathe. Man is the animal whose very nature it is, and, therefore, in the social sphere, as really as in the individual, to realize and to demand authority. This is the essence of his essence.

We may and should go further. It is not enough for man to have *an* authority. In social relations, specially, he needs an authority that is adequate because final. Legislation, which is merely to meet the need of the hour, of which at the present time we have so much, does not and cannot satisfy any thoughtful person. The doctrine that society should determine itself simply according to the requirements of each new age can not permanently win approval. Made by God and for God and in his image, man can realize himself only as he can aim at and determine himself according to the Eternal and Unchangeable. As he must have an authority on which to rest, so the only authority on which he can really rest will be absolute and thus final.

As has been remarked, this is not only true in the social sphere; it is conspicuously true in it. While we can not with William Temple, Headmaster of Repton, make the moral depend on the social and say that "The isolated individual may be wise or foolish; he can not be moral or immoral, and that an atheistic debaucher upon a desert island is not liable to moral censure", we do hold that the social is both the goal and the crown of the moral. Man was made for society and fully realizes himself only in society. But who understands society, its nature, its functions, its development? It is of all things the most complex, the most complicated. If no man can know himself thoroughly, still less can he know the society of which he himself is but one insignificant member. And, therefore, if man by the very constitution of his nature demands an absolute norm and so a final authority, much more does that most wonderful of all organisms, the social body which men constitute, and in which alone they can fully find themselves, demand it. That is, God Himself must reveal His kingdom from heaven, if we are ever to realize it on earth. A final authority in and for sociology would seem, consequently, to be specially demanded by the divine purpose. Indeed, the Bible would fall short of its own revealed end, if it were the final authority in dogmatics and ethics and not in sociology. It is precisely in the kingdom which it was revealed to introduce, the divine order of society which, while it is to be consummated in heaven, must be established on earth, that we see most clearly the absolute need of such an authority. On these four grounds, then, to adduce no others, we would seem to be justified in claiming the Bible as *the* authority and so *the* text-book in sociology as really as our standards affirm it to be so in dogmatics and ethics.

II. There are, however, many who admit the force of our reasoning and yet deny our conclusion. They make this denial on the following grounds:

(1) The Old Testament, while containing, as we have

seen, much sociological information and instruction, has been abrogated with the dispensation to which it belonged. Its sociological function, if not its dogmatic and ethical one, was vacated when Christ came. The text-book of national life before this, it can not be so since then. The kingdom which our Lord set up was not of this world.

This position, while plausible, is invalid.

(a) The dogmatic and ethical and sociological elements of the Old Testament are so implicated as to be inseparable. Not only does the dogmatic determine the ethical and do they together determine the sociological, but the sociological is given either as an implication of the dogmatic and the ethical or as the conditions which demand them. Its fate, therefore, is one with theirs. If it has been set aside, they, too, have been; and as we do not claim that the Old Testament is no longer a part of the "only infallible rule of faith and practice", for the individual, so neither may we claim that the New Dispensation in fulfilling the Old has abrogated its sociology.

(b) That it has not done so appears in the fact that some of the sociological teaching of the Old Testament is either reaffirmed in the New Testament, or is based on grounds which are permanent. Thus we could not be shown more clearly in the case of Saul and of David and of the kings generally that government is of God than it is asserted to be so by Paul in the thirteenth chapter of Romans. So, too, the obligation of capital punishment for wilful murder is made to rest on the fact that man was created in God's image (Gen. ix. 6); and this reason, from the nature of the case, is and must be as much in force to-day as ever.

(c) While it is true that most of the social enactments of the Jewish theocracy, such as the judicial or civil laws regulating the duties of husbands and wives, the distribution of property, the punishment of crimes, etc., inasmuch as they grew out of the temporary and peculiar conditions of the Old Dispensation, ceased to be binding with the ceas-

ing of that dispensation, it is not true that the principles which these economic or social provisions illustrated and enforced were also abrogated. Thus, the civil magistrate to-day neither ought to put, nor may put, the Sabbath-breaker or the adulterer to death. Yet these offenses, if viewed as sins against God rather than as crimes against the state, deserve death as much now as ever; and it is only as we look at the penalty to be imposed on them when state and church were united in the Jewish theocracy and crimes were punished as sins that we can appreciate or even perceive their real heinousness in God's sight. Thus, again, the land-laws of the Old Testament are not in force to-day. They could not be enforced if they were. How could we secure that every naturalized immigrant, be he Italian, Pole or Magyar, should have his own holding of land, and should dwell under his "own vine and fig tree"? Yet, who can successfully deny that in these land-laws we have a temporary and peculiar illustration of principles that are as wide and as permanent in their application as the human race? In England one out of every eleven of the people is a pauper. Has the fact that nine tenths of the land is held by one tenth of the citizens nothing to do with this? British sociologists say that it has much to do with it. The ideal is that property in land should be universal. This, however, was what the land laws of Israel required. Among ourselves the rich are growing richer and many of the poor, poorer. Is not this largely because no opportunity is afforded to the poor man to recover himself? Such opportunity, however, was to come to every poor Israelite with every return of the year of Jubilee. Are not even our most fertile lands being impoverished through uninterrupted cropping? This could never be, if the Sabbatic year were observed. We could multiply illustrations, but these are sufficient. The judicial and civil laws of the Old Dispensation bind us no longer, but they affirm sociological principles which are of divine authority. It is in this case as in dogmatics. The sacrificial system of the Old Testament was done away, when, "once

for all at the end of the ages," the Lamb of God offered up Himself. Yet, the great truth, the truth that men need most to heed and that we seem most likely to forget, the truth that without the "shedding of blood there is no remission of sins", this eternal truth was only reaffirmed and reemphasized when the temporary symbols of it were done away. And so it came to pass that even those portions of the Old Testament which were essentially and necessarily temporary in their surface teaching, are in their deeper meaning, whether sociological or ethical or dogmatic, of permanent authority; and this, as Illingworth, a recent Bampton lecturer has said, causes the Old Testament to stand, as it has always stood, "in lonely eminence, immeasurably superior to all else of its kind".

(2) The New Testament, whether as regards the sociological teaching which, as we have just seen, it must take over from the Old Testament, or as regards that which is distinctive of itself, cannot be of permanent validity because it was written under the influence of the end of the world.

That the New Testament as well as the Old contains abundant sociological material is, as we have observed, generally admitted.

It cannot, however, be material which has any application to ourselves. Dominated as it is by the thought of a great and imminent crisis, expecting as it does the almost immediate coming down from heaven of the new Jerusalem, what reference can it have to us who are saying, "Where is the promise of His coming? for, from the day that the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation? Paul might well write: "But this I say, brethren, the time is shortened, that henceforth both those that have wives may be as though they had none, and those that weep as though they wept not; and those that rejoice as though they rejoiced not; and those that buy as though they possessed not; and those that use the world as not abusing it: for the fashion of this world passeth away" (1 Cor. vii. 29-31). This, however, can not mean anything



for us. We have found that the fashion of this world does not pass away. We have found that the things of this world seem of all things the most real. A sociology, therefore, which emphasizes their impermanence, a sociology whose fundamental principle is that the world is passing away, such a sociology might do for the first century, but the twentieth can have no use for it.

This reasoning would have force if the facts were as assumed. If the teaching of the apostles, taken as a whole, were really that "the end of all things" was certainly at hand, or if our Lord merely believed that it was, perhaps an argument could be made for the eschatological objections under consideration. "There is," however, as Stalker has observed in his *Ethic of Jesus* (p. 25), "an opposite side of his consciousness, which is left entirely unexplained" by this theory. "It can be proved from his words that he foresaw and foretold a slow and gradual development of his cause such as history has actually exhibited; and nothing is more certain than that he expected to be put by his death into a new and world-wide relationship to men." This is well expressed by Harnack at the close of the third lecture in his *The Essence of Christianity*, and his words are all the more interesting because of his near kinship with the school just referred to. "He who would know," Harnack says, "what the kingdom of God and the coming of this kingdom mean in the preaching of Jesus must read and ponder his parables. Then it will dawn upon him what Jesus is thinking about. The kingdom comes when it comes to the individual, making entry to the soul which embraces it. The kingdom is the reign of God, no doubt; but it is the reign of the holy God in individual hearts, it is God Himself with His power. Everything dramatic in the external and historical sense here disappears, and the whole external hope of a future upon earth also sinks out of sight. Take any parable you please—that of the Sower, or that of the Pearl of Great Price, or that of the Treasure Hidden in the Field—and you

perceive that the Word of God, or rather God Himself, is the kingdom; and what you are reading about is not angels or devils, thrones or principalities, but God and the soul, the soul and its God."

Moreover, the eschatological conception is not, as the objector alleges, unfitted for our own day. On the contrary, it is the very conception needed to keep us from overusing and so from abusing the world. It is true for each one of us as individuals, that the "time is shortened" and that "the Lord is at hand". To make the most even of "the life that now is", we must be ever "looking for and hastening unto that blessed hope and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ". The old Puritan lawgiver called for candles when sudden darkness led the convention to think that the Day of Judgment had come. It was just because he expected his Lord to appear that he wished to be found most diligent in his work. In like manner, to be the kind of citizen that the good of the nation demands, we must realize that we have here "no continuing city", we must appreciate that our own true citizenship is even now in heaven, we must look for "the city which hath the foundation whose builder and maker is God". In a word, it is precisely because the Bible does present an end-ethic, as it is called, and an end-sociology, that it can be *the* authority. To be faithful to what our Lord has given us to do here in the church, which is His body and in the world, which is His workmanship, that is, really to bring in His kingdom, we must expect His coming.

(3) There is the objection made years ago by Mill and Mazzini, and later by Frederic Harrison in his *New Year's Address for 1889*, and also by N. M. Salter in his *Ethical Religion*, and again and again repeated since—the objection that though the sociology of the Bible were not an end-sociology, still, it gives no guidance or help as regards the social problems of to-day. Thus it has nothing to say as to the development of art, as to pedagogy, as to trades-unions and

strikes, as to woman suffrage. How, then, can the Bible be any longer the authority in sociology? Even if it were so twenty centuries ago, it could not be so now. The questions now demanding solution are entirely different. Evolution has changed human nature and has introduced a new environment. Hence, as in the political sphere there are those who call, not for the carrying out of the Constitution, but for a new Constitution; so in the social sphere there are many who are demanding, not adherence to the Bible, not even to what is so fundamental in it as the Decalogue, but a radically new sociology, one adapted to the new conditions. For example, so eminent and so able a writer as Rauschenbusch, in his last book, *The Christianization of the Social Order*, takes the ground that whenever private property ceases to contribute to human development, then the right of property is no more. As though any right guaranteed by the Decalogue could cease to contribute to such development as God intends and approves! This objection, then, is refuted in the first place by the view of God and of the Bible which it involves. God "knows the end from the beginning". He Himself is "the same yesterday and to-day and forever". It can not be, therefore, that what is fundamental in His Word will ever cease to be so. The Decalogue is the demand either of God's nature or of man's nature; and as God can not change Himself, so neither may we conceive of Him in the development of His plan as creating what was afterward to be set aside. His plan is eternal; His purpose is one: evolution, consequently, while it brings out the new, must be of the old; and, therefore, the old must regulate, while bringing in, the new. In a word, what the new social problems of to-day demand is not a new sociology, but a more prayerful and diligent study of the old text-book and a more fearless and consistent application of it to modern conditions. It will then appear, as many of us think that it has already appeared, that even when God has not told us in His Word



all that we need to know for the solution of the social questions of to-day, he has laid down principles and limitations of universal and perpetual obligation. Thus, sacred art is not the only true art, but any art to continue true must be moral; and to continue moral must be in spirit religious. Pedagogy has much to learn from psychology, and thus far it would seem to have learned very little; but all that psychology has to teach here is not so fundamental, even pedagogically, as that "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom". Even the Agnostic Huxley recognized in a letter to the rector of St. Mary's Church, London, that any education that did not begin with and rest on the Bible was worse than no education. It would not be possible to adjust all labor difficulties by an appeal to the Bible alone. There is need of much patient investigation and much careful legislation with regard to them. The most patient investigation and the most careful legislation will, however, be worse than fruitless, unless they assume and proceed on such old-fashioned biblical truths as, that "The laborer is worthy of his hire"; that "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth"; that "My Father worketh hitherto and I work". The extension of the suffrage to women was certainly not before the mind of Christ or of His apostles. Nevertheless, the only basis on which this pressing question can be settled rightly is that of the New Testament teaching as to both the equality of and the radical distinction between the sexes. These illustrations are sufficient. Social evolution presents new problems, but these only emphasize the fundamental importance of the principles that underlie the old solutions.

(4) Were all these objections set aside, it would still be urged that Our Lord was anything rather than a political reformer or a teacher of sociology. "He never enters on the role of the statesman or of the political economist. He enacts no code. He leads no party. In an empire full of slaves he opens no crusade against slavery." He gives no

teaching as to the proper form of government for either church or state. He has nothing to say of woman's rights, or of popular suffrage, or of reform parties or measures. Though the greater social reforms resulted from Him, He does not appear in any sense as a social reformer. Not only does He not use sociological terminology; rarely does He, at least directly, discuss sociological themes. Nay, more than this. As Dr. W. Cunningham remarks in his *Christianity and Social Questions*, perhaps the soundest and sanest of the recent books on Sociology, *The Parable of the Tares* is a warning for all time against the mistake of looking on the kingdom of heaven as an earthly realm from which evil is to be eradicated. . . . No movement which begins with drastic effort to purify society, in the hope of removing contamination from individuals, is consistent with the teaching of this parable. Moreover, Our Lord's work in healing diseases and in satisfying hunger and other human needs—these miracles and the immediate relief which they afforded, as Dr. Cunningham adds, "were never done for their own sake; to our Lord's mind they were entirely subsidiary to the spiritual aims of his ministry" (p. 221).

Does his course, then, in this respect, indicate that he was indifferent to social reform and so that His teaching can not be the authority in sociology? Not at all. Rather does it declare authoritatively the true method of social reform. "The disciple is not above his Master"; as Dr. Cunningham continues, "we must beware of criticising Our Lord's mission as inadequate, and of claiming that we can supplement it by developing new activities in His name, when He Himself refused to sanction them. There may be much eager talk about Christianity and much activity by professing Christians that he will refuse to recognize as emanating from himself." In every sphere of life, political and social, as truly as religious, the individual Christian, as a Christian and because a Christian, has a part to play and a duty to

perform; but the Church in her organized capacity "can only exercise a wise influence on social problems by being true to her Master, and striving to carry on His work, as He saw it, and as He committed it to her charge". She is to seek the reformation of society through the regeneration of individuals. This is the great lesson of Our Lord's example, and teaching, and it is a lesson which needs the supreme, the unique, authority which only He could give.

III. It remains to close this too long discussion with the briefest statement possible of the more important conclusions:

(1) The authority of the Bible does not cover every sociological question. It is a great mistake to expect to settle all or many social problems off-hand with a "Thus saith the Lord". We can not do this in ethics. We can not do it even in dogmatics. In each one of these spheres, and especially in that of society, very much has been left to the reason of the age and of the individual. There is a large class of social questions, therefore, as to which the right of private judgment must be insisted on. The state ownership of public utilities, the regulation by the state of corporations and of rates—there is a right and a wrong in the case of these and of like issues, and it is highly important that it should be determined; but God's Word has not settled it and, consequently, the church may not presume to do so. Hence, the danger and the wrong of the so-called "Social Creed of the Churches", adopted in 1908, by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. It seeks the authority of the Church for judgments on many of which the Word of God has not passed and which, therefore, the church may not pass. It is a direct infringement of "the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free".

(2) There is, however, a "divine order of human society", and the Bible lays its foundations. These foundations cannot be insisted on too strenuously, and as to them we have no right of private judgment. That

can not be the true order which does injustice to church or state or family, or to the great institute which includes them all and in which each one realizes itself, even the kingdom of God. Thus that can not be a true order which subordinates, as in Erastianism, the church to the state. That can not be a true order which, as in the Papacy, denies the temporal power of the nation. That can not be a true order which, as the spirit of much of modern life, is inimical to the family. That can not be a true order which, as in Socialism, substitutes state-control for providence and puts society in the place of God. Against the principles which underlie every such scheme it is the duty of the Church, and specially of her ministers, most vigorously to protest. Let them do this positively as well as negatively, by laying the scriptural foundations as well as by overturning those of "the wisdom of this world". This is the minister's distinctive function as regards social reform. He is to insist on the supreme authority of the Bible with respect to it.

(3) He is to do other and more. His great work is not to agitate even for the social principles laid down in the Bible. His great work, the greatest of all works, the work which is incomparably the most efficient for social reform, is to strive for the regeneration and development of individual souls through the preaching in all its fulness of "the everlasting Gospel of the grace of God". This is the supreme and the most comprehensive lesson of the Bible regarded as *the* text-book in Sociology.

*Princeton.*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

## AN EVANGELICAL VIEW OF CARDINAL NEWMAN

After years of waiting we now have Newman's Life, and it has been read with the intense interest that its great subject deserves. Mr. Wilfrid Ward has had a difficult task in steering between loyalty to his father and sympathy with Newman. But he has kept the balance very true, though it is not difficult to see that his decisions on the whole are with the Cardinal. These volumes are almost entirely concerned with Newman's Roman Catholic life, only one chapter being given to his Anglican days. The earlier period has already been dealt with adequately in former works. We follow the narrative from point to point with the keenest interest; indeed, it is difficult to lay the book down.

On the whole Mr. Ward has been frank and candid, but, it must be added that, as the *British Weekly* said,

"His tendency is to lower the lights when ugly and painful things appear. He softens everything, leaving out, as far as possible, the harsh and fierce expressions in controversy and the extravagances of wrath and faith. We cannot quarrel with him, for he always tries to write true history. But true history has to be more candid."

There is another side to much that is connected with Newman both in his Anglican and in his Roman Catholic days, which has not yet appeared in full though we have had hints in several volumes. To quote the *British Weekly* once again:

"The story of the Oxford Movement has yet to be written. Dean Church wrote the romance of the Oxford Movement. He told us what chivalry of belief and self-sacrifice there was in it, and there was much. But the scene and the actors are enveloped in a rosy mist. To know the truth, we must go back to the original documents."

And this "rosy mist" is not dispelled by Newman's Biography.

It is a remarkable story and one that gives rise to many conflicting ideas and opinions. Among the discussions to which the book has naturally given rise, room may perhaps



be found for some general impressions suggested in the light of that Evangelicalism which Newman claimed to experience at the commencement of his Christian life.

# I. NEWMAN'S RELATION TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

It is curious to read that it was in 1839 while engaged in a study of the Monophysite controversy that misgivings came into Newman's mind as to the Anglican position. He saw an analogy between the Monophysites and the Anglicans. The Monophysites took their stand on antiquity and had their claim disallowed by the Church, which at the instigation of Pope Leo excluded them. This great power of the Pope deeply impressed Newman, and he could not adjust the story of the Monophysites to any view of a *Via Media*, such as he was vainly endeavouring to find in Anglicanism. It is hardly too much to say that this comparison between Monophysitism and Anglicanism is really absurd, because the two positions were in no true sense analogous. It would almost seem as though already Newman's wish was becoming parent to his thoughts. Soon afterwards we read that an article by Wiseman on the Donatist Schism deepened the impression made by the Monophysite controversy, shaking Newman's faith in his own position. As St. Augustine had replied to the claim of the Donatists, on the ground that they had adhered to antiquity, by the words, "*Securus judicat orbis terrarum*", so Newman was now haunted by this dictum, "the judgment of the whole world cannot go wrong". Yet here again we are conscious of an over-emphasis on imagination and a lack of concern for true historical fact. The *orbis terrarum* which Newman had in mind was after all only the Western Church, so that on any showing he was guilty of a glaring *non sequitur*. It was on such flimsy grounds that he felt led to question the foundations of his Anglicanism and eventually to leave that Church for Rome.

The same general tendency and attitude of mind is seen in his "Doctrine of Development" which signalised his

departure from the Anglican Church. He held that while the deposit of the Faith was once for all committed to the Church, yet Christians were not at once explicitly conscious of all its intellectual implications, and these had to be subsequently defined by authority.

"It was gradually brought home to me, in the course of my reading, so gradually, that I cannot trace the steps of my conviction, that the decrees of later councils, or what Anglicans call the Roman corruptions, were but instances of that very same doctrinal law which was to be found in the history of the early Church; and that in the sense in which the dogmatic truth of the prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin may be said, in the lapse of centuries, to have grown upon the consciousness of the faithful, in that same sense did, in the first age, the mystery of the Blessed Trinity also gradually shine out and manifest itself more and more completely before their minds."<sup>1</sup>

It is surprising that Newman was able to say that this view of development was an answer to Anglican objections against Rome, and also a positive argument in its favor, for surely development must always be in strict accordance with the germ planted, and if there is no trace of the germ in the deposit of the Faith once for all committed to the Church, it is impossible that there can be any proper development. Thus, for example, to be able to accept the Roman doctrine of the Priesthood, we must be able to prove that the sacerdotal idea of the Ministry is found in germ in the New Testament, and this, as we know, it is impossible to do. So also the devotion paid to the Mother of our Lord in modern Romanism necessitates the existence of a germ of that devotion in the New Testament, though every reference therein to the Virgin Mary fails to give us this proof. The way in which Newman's Doctrine of Development was received in the Roman Church indicates the hesitation, if not the fear, with which most leading theologians regarded it, while the deliberate use of it made in America on behalf of Unitarianism as to the late development of the Doctrine of the Trinity was another instance of its dangerous two-edged power.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i, p. 186.

It has always been a mystery that Newman should have remained for so long a period in the Church of England before going over to Rome while holding quite definitely Roman convictions. It was in 1839, as we have seen, that he received his first misgivings, and yet it was not until 1845 that he actually went over. Wiseman's article, read in 1839, had such an immediate and profound impression that within a month he confided to Henry Wilberforce that in the end he might possibly find it his duty to join the Roman Church.<sup>2</sup> He "never recovered from this blow". The isolation of the English Church thereupon possessed, not to say obsessed, him. He never returned to the *Via Media*. He could not answer W. G. Ward and his friends. His own anti-Roman position was broken, and yet we are told that "he maintained still in his letters the attitude of a vigorous champion of the Anglican Church".<sup>3</sup> During this time, however, he felt it necessary to institute some changes in the character of the Oxford Movement. Up to 1838 the Anglican Church had been the main point of interest, but by 1841 the presumption was on the Roman side, and for this purpose "it was more than ever necessary to vindicate a Catholic interpretation for the Anglican formularies". It was essential "to show that they were not committed to the views of a Protestant sect, and that they still interpreted all formularies enjoined in the Church of England in the sixteenth century, according to the sense of the Catholic Church".<sup>4</sup> This was the reason for the famous Tract 90 which saw the light in February, 1841, a year and a half after Newman had expressed his suspicion that possibly he might find it his duty to join the Church of Rome. The publication of this Tract naturally brought matters to a climax, and the weakening of Newman's position in the Church of England was more and more evident from this time forward. In 1842 he left Oxford for Littlemore; in 1843 he wrote definitely to a friend that he believed the Church

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<sup>2</sup> Vol. i, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i, p. 70.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. i, p. 71.



of Rome to be the Church of the Apostles, that England was in schism. In the same year he retracted all his attacks on the Church of Rome, and the change of Communion was now only a question of time. Making every allowance for the gradualness of conviction, these facts about his long stay in the Church of England are at least difficult of interpretation.

Newman tried his best to give the Anglican Articles a "Catholic" meaning, but, as his friend W. G. Ward had to admit, the most that could be said was that they were "patient" of a Catholic interpretation. Dean Church adds, in referring to Ward:

"With characteristic boldness, inventing a phrase which has become famous, he wrote, 'Our Twelfth Article is, as plain as words can make it, on the Evangelical side; of course, I think its natural meaning may be explained away, for I subscribe it myself in a non-natural sense'."

And Newman himself eventually came to the same conclusion, for although in Tract 90 he had argued that the Anglican Article XXXI on the sacrifices of masses did not refer to the Sacrifice of the Mass, he was compelled to acknowledge the utter impossibility and untenableness of his position. In his *Via Media*, published in 1877, he wrote:

"There is no denying then that these audacious words ('blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits') apply to the doctrinal teaching as well as to the popular belief of Catholics. What was 'commonly said' was also formally enunciated by the Oecumenical Hierarchy in Council assembled." Again: "What then the Thirty-first Article repudiates is undeniably the central and most sacred doctrine of the Catholic religion; and so its wording has ever been read since it was drawn up."

To the same effect he wrote in a letter to Pusey admitting that

"the tract did not carry its object and conditions on its face, and necessarily lay open to interpretations very far from the true one. I considered that my interpretation of the Articles would stand, provided the parties imposing them allowed it. When, in the event, the bishops and public opinion did not allow it, I gave up my living, as having no right to retain it."

It is interesting to trace in the subsequent career of New-

man his views about the Church that he had left. This is the way in which he writes against what is sometimes called the "Three Branch Theory", the view that the Catholic Church is limited to the Greek, Roman, and Anglican Churches:

"And it is to me utterly marvellous how a person of your clear intellect can seduce himself into the notion that a portion of Christendom, which has lain disowned on all hands, by East as well as West, for three hundred years, and is a part of no existing communion whatever, but a whole in itself, *is* nevertheless a portion of some other existing visible body, nay of two other existing bodies, Greek and Latin. The Siamese twins are nothing to this portent; yet we commonly account them monsters and not men, but here you have two separate organized frames or persons having a limb in common, and that limb a part of neither, yet two bodies and separate limbs all together one and but one body; all which is a sort of bad dream, and recalls the specimens of extravagant Yankee humour which we see in Newspapers."<sup>5</sup>

In the same way he writes his friend Henry Wilberforce in connection with certain ritual changes in the Church of All Saints', Margaret Street:

"I have heard something about you which makes me sad—that you countenanced on November 1st the changes in Margaret Street which (if what I hear they are) I will not designate. What have you to do with Subdeacons and the like? I should have thought you far too sensible a fellow to go into such ways. While you stick to the old Church of England ways you are respectable—it is going by a sort of tradition—when you profess to *return* to lost Church of England ways, you are rational—but when you invent a *new* ceremonial, which never was, when you copy the Roman or other foreign rituals, you are neither respectable nor rational. It is sectarian. That is what I say of Pusey now—he does not *affect* to appeal to any authority but his own interpretation of the Fathers, and (to) the sanction of old Anglicans for *this* or *that*—but as a whole, he is not *reviving* anything that *ever* was anywhere for 1800 years. There is a tradition of High Church, and of Low Church—but none of what *now* is justly called *Puseyism*."<sup>6</sup>

This extract from the *Apologia* tells a similar story:

"I have felt all along that Bishop Bull's theology was the only theology on which the English Church could stand. I have felt that opposition to the Church of Rome was part of that theology;

<sup>5</sup> Vol. i, p. 129.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. i, p. 236.

and that he who could not protest against the Church of Rome was no true divine in the English Church. I have never said, nor attempted to say, that anyone in office in the English Church, whether bishop or incumbent, could be otherwise than in hostility to the Church of Rome."

These are striking testimonies to the view held by Evangelical Churchmen. While High Churchmanship, Broad Churchmanship, and Evangelicalism find their place in Anglican tradition from the Reformation, there never was any tradition of what Newman calls Puseyism up to the time of the Oxford Movement.

A similar result is seen in Newman's view on Reunion. He thinks that the possibility of the conversion of the Anglican Church as a corporate body is about as likely as a change in the course of the Thames through running into the sea at the Wash instead of the Nore. Of course such a change of direction might take place in a very long time without miracle, but Newman says he should not pray for it, and if he wished to divert the stream from London he would cut a canal at Eton or Twickenham, and so by forming a new bed by his own labor he might reasonably pray for the success of his project. Then comes this description of the Anglican Church:

"Now the Anglican Church is *sui generis*—it is not a collection of individuals—but it is a bed, a river bed, formed in the course of ages, depending on external facts, such as political, civil, and social arrangements. Viewed in its structure, it has never been more than partially Catholic. If its ritual has been mainly such, yet its articles are the historical offspring of Luther and Calvin. And its ecclesiastical organisation has ever been, in its fundamental principles, Erastian. To make that actual and visible, tangible body Catholic, would be simply to make a new creature—it would be to turn a panther into a hind. There are very great similarities between a panther and a hind. Still they are possessed of separate natures, and a change from one to the other would be a destruction and reproduction, not a process. It could be done without a miracle in a succession of ages, but in any assignable period, no".<sup>1</sup>

He goes on to say that as there have always been three great parties in the Anglican Church, it would be necessary

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii, p. 116.

for the Catholic Movement to absorb into itself the Evangelical and the Liberal parties, and then the Erastian party would have to begin to change itself, for in Newman's opinion all parties have ever been Erastian. All this, and much more, enters into his argument, and he ends as he began, by saying that he "cannot conceive the Establishment running into Catholicism, more than I can conceive the Thames running into the Wash".<sup>8</sup>

The account of his visit to Keble, and his meeting with him and Pusey for the first time after years of separation is at once touching and disappointing.

"After twenty years they meet together round a table, but without a common cause or free outspoken thought; kind indeed, but subdued and antagonistic in their language to each other, and all of them with broken prospects, yet each viewing in his own way the world in which those prospects lay."

Perhaps the explanation of this is to be found in an utterance of Keble written a good many years after the departure of Newman for Rome, in the course of which he speaks of his deliverance from the fascination of the personality of his masterful friend, and of the freedom thereby gained to resume a more balanced and more sober Anglican tradition.

One other point of interest in Newman's attitude to the Church of England is seen in the way in which he protested against Dr. Littledale's *Plain Reasons against joining the Church of Rome* being circulated by "a respectable Society like the S. P. C. K.", and we are told that the result of his protest against what he regarded as an untruthful book was that it was struck off their list. He went as far as to call it "a shameful circulation", because the Society has sanctioned a controversial work without a careful revision. It would be interesting to know precisely what were the points in which Littledale's book was regarded as untruthful by Newman. Certainly from the Evangelical standpoint Littledale is very far to seek, because he very significantly

<sup>8</sup> Vol. ii, p. 118.

<sup>9</sup> Vol. ii, p. 96.

omits from the reasons against joining the Church of Rome the plainest reasons of all.

As we review Newman's early connection with the Church of England and his subsequent life in Rome, it is scarcely possible to avoid drawing the conclusion well expressed by a reviewer in the *New York Nation*, that

"say what one will, there was something in Newman's conversion of personal defection, a betrayal of the will, and, despite the fact that his greatest work is just the *Apologia* for his change, he was debarred by his surrender from taking the supreme place as an English author or as a religious leader which belonged to him by birthright."

To the same effect are the words of the Rev. A. W. Hutton, once a disciple of Newman in the Oratory at Birmingham, and afterward (till his death) a well-known clergyman of the English Church. He believes that Newman's idiosyncrasy is a sufficient explanation of his perversion to Rome. Submission to Rome was

"deliberately chosen by him, as a harbour of refuge, after that his vanity had been wounded by the discovery that Oxford friends, who had followed him for some years, now no longer, after Tract XC., trusted him. No one can understand Newman who does not appreciate the intensity of his belief in himself, in the importance of his personality and of his career."<sup>10</sup>

## II. NEWMAN'S POSITION IN THE ROMAN CHURCH

From his early days Newman conceived his mission to be that of relentless opposition to "Liberalism" in thought, which he considered was breaking up Church and State and would eventually destroy religion. This possessed his mind during his Oxford days, and was in many respects the dominant thought in his teaching and attitude, and according to his own confession it was the failure and impossibility of Anglicanism to provide a breakwater against this flood of Liberalism that led him into the Roman Church. And yet the curious fact which impresses the reader of Newman's Biography at almost every turn, is that in spite of this mission against Liberalism Newman himself was suspected

<sup>10</sup> *Churchman* (London), 1908, p. 588.



of sympathies with Liberalism for the greater part of his long life in the Roman Church. It was a striking nemesis that he who had protested in the strongest way against reason in relation to religion should himself be charged with an undue emphasis on reason by his Roman colleagues, and the consequence was that Newman was thwarted at almost every turn by the authorities in the Church. As a writer in the *Church of Ireland Gazette* aptly remarks:

"It is the irony of history that Newman, whose most cherished aim was to be a conservative, became, in spite of himself, a revolutionary. It is the irony of the appeal to authority in an age alike incredulous and full of competing religions, that it can only be made at the cost of generating the very spirit it desires to exorcise."

This twofold attitude of Newman in the Roman and Anglican Communions is well stated by the *Spectator* in its notice of the Life.

"As an Anglican he stood for the principle of medieval theology in a Church which was fermenting with the new thought of a scientific age; as a Roman he stood for the principle of making terms with scientific thought in a Church which maintained its medieval theology. He pointed, against the military methods of the Propaganda, back to the free debates in the medieval schools as a type of the lost liberty which he wished the Roman Church to regain; but it was that very freedom of debate in the schools of Oxford which had shocked him, and to which he had given the bad name of 'Liberalism'."

He was asked to undertake the formation of a Roman Catholic University in Ireland, only to be opposed and defeated by the Irish Bishops. He was invited to edit a translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular, but the scheme was abandoned owing to the apathy of Cardinal Wiseman. He endeavored to influence the thought of intellectual Roman Catholics by undertaking the editorship of the *Rambler*, but powerful opposition arose and he was asked to resign after his first number, and was delated to Rome for heresy after his second. Then came the project for an Oratory for Oxford in the hope of influencing the intellectual life of that place for Rome, but here Manning and W. G. Ward were too strong for him and the project came to an untimely

end. Last of all, when the question of the Vatican arose, Newman found himself in opposition to men like Manning and others who took the extreme Ultramontane view. It is beyond measure pitiable to think of this man of genius being hindered, opposed, and defeated by men who were intellectually and otherwise so far inferior to him. But already perhaps he was suffering the effects of his unwise, and certainly unfortunate, change of Communion. To quote from the *New York Nation*:

"It was as if the convert, by altering his direction, had suddenly brought himself face to face with a stone wall. To every plan he broached for new activity came the benumbing reply, *Non possumus*, if it was not *Non possis*."

"He was, as it were, hemmed in, barked at by opposition on every side, beaten down by exasperating distrust and envy."

For the greater part of his Roman days Newman spoke and wrote with manifest resentment of the treatment he was receiving. A few instances of this may be given as suggesting the necessity of some solution of a problem that weighs considerably with a great many people.

"At Rome they are especially jealous of any great power unless they can be quite sure of it. If they had perfect faith in us, they would do anything for us—but we are converts, partially untried—and one least fault will tell against us the more, as heavy bodies have the more dangerous falls."<sup>11</sup>

"You cannot make men believe by force and repression. Were the Holy See as powerful in temporals as it was three centuries back, then you would have a secret infidelity instead of an avowed one—which seems the worse evil) unless you train the reason to defend the truth. Galileo subscribed what was asked of him, but is said to have murmured, 'E pur si muove'."<sup>12</sup>

"It has been my lot, since I was a Catholic, to find few hearts among my own friends to shew any kindness to me. . . . Our Bishop said to me that he considered I was under a 'dispensation of mortifications'—and in truth, since the Holy Father first in his kindness called me to Rome, I don't think I have had one single encouragement."<sup>13</sup>

"I went off to Rome at an enormous inconvenience, and had two interviews with the Holy Father *tête-a-tête*. He was most

<sup>11</sup> Vol. i, p. 229.

<sup>12</sup> Vol. ii, p. 49.

<sup>13</sup> Vol. ii, p. 124.



kind, and acquitted me. But hardly was my back turned but my enemies (for so I must call them) *practically* got the upper hand. Our Bishop seems to think no great good comes of seeing the Pope, if it is only *once* seeing him. What chance have I against persons who are day by day at his elbow. . . . I trust I shall ever give a hearty obedience to Rome, but I never expect in my lifetime any recognition of it."<sup>14</sup>

"And now, alas, I fear that in one sense the iron has entered into my soul. I mean that confidence in any superiors whatever never can blossom again within me. I never shall feel easy with them. I shall, I feel, always think they will be taking some advantage of me,—that at length their way will lie across mine, and that my efforts will be displeasing to them."<sup>15</sup>

The problem arising out of these strong expressions of opinion is that side by side with them Newman was able to distinguish between the Roman Church as a whole and the men in authority during his time. When reports became current that he was dissatisfied with his Roman position and was likely to return to the Anglican Church, he wrote with severity and even bitterness that "Protestantism is the dreariest of possible religions", and he was always able somehow or other to rest content in the Roman Catholic Church in spite of the lack of sympathy and even opposition which he found at Headquarters. It is a curious state of mind, for it is surprising that Newman did not see that intellectual infallibility should have logically involved moral infallibility as well. As we review the judgments of the Roman Church since the promulgation of the Decree in 1870, we are compelled to ask what is the precise practical value of an infallibility which has not been used for over forty years?

The Oxford episode naturally bulks very largely in the story of Newman's life. When the proposal for an Oratory there was broached, everything for a time seemed to go without a hitch, though there were incidents in the negotiations with the Vatican which naturally depressed Newman. Thus Cardinal Reisach, who was personally known to him, came to England for the express purpose of finding out the general feeling on the Oxford question,

<sup>14</sup> Vol. ii, p. 142.

<sup>15</sup> Vol. ii, p. 201.

and yet Newman was not approached by him and never even made acquainted with his mission. Indeed, the Cardinal visited Oscott without letting Newman know that he was near Birmingham. The Cardinal's informants were carefully selected by Manning, and W. G. Ward was mentioned as the best representative of laymen. The new ground that Newman had bought at Oxford was actually inspected without any sign being given to its owner. No wonder that Newman deplored this incident, and complained that no opportunity was afforded him of giving Rome his view of the subject. But this was nothing compared with the sequel. When everything was in readiness for departure to Oxford and the portmanteau of Newman's friend and colleague, Father Neville, actually packed, a letter came from Newman's Bishop which plainly showed that he was not to go.

"Coupled with the formal permission for an Oratory at Oxford, Propaganda had sent a 'secret instruction' to Dr. Ullathorne, to the effect that, if Newman himself showed signs of intending to reside there, the Bishop was to do his best 'blandly and suavely' (*blande suaviterque*) to recall him."<sup>16</sup>

Newman never forgot that unfortunate "*blande suaviterque*".

One of the greatest difficulties felt by Newman was the opposition of a former friend, Mgr. Talbot, who was at the Pope's right hand and was all along the intimate and confidential correspondent of Manning, and the channel through which all English news reached the Pope. We can see more than once what Talbot thought of Newman.

"Dr. Newman is the most dangerous man in England, and you will see that he will make use of the laity against your Grace. You must not be afraid of him. It will require much prudence, but you must be firm, as the Holy Father still places confidence in you."<sup>17</sup>

There is perhaps nothing so significant in its quiet severity as the reply of Newman to Talbot when he received an invitation to preach in the latter's Church in Rome.

"I have received your letter, inviting me to preach next Lent in your Church at Rome to 'an audience of Protestants more edu-

<sup>16</sup> Vol. ii, p. 139.

<sup>17</sup> Vol. ii, p. 147.

cated than could ever be the case in England'. However, Birmingham people have souls; and I have neither taste nor talent for the sort of work which you cut out for me. And I beg to decline your offer."<sup>18</sup>

In the light of all these experiences within the Roman Church we find ourselves asking again and again whether Newman really found his true home and did his proper work there?

### III. THE CHURCH OF ROME AND UNBELIEF

According to Newman the Catholic movement in the Church of England was "the only effective check on the advancing tide of unbelief",<sup>19</sup> and when he discovered, as he believed, that Anglicanism offered no adequate check, he wrote during his last days at Littlemore that he had

"an increasing intellectual conviction that there is no medium between Pantheism and the Church of Rome".<sup>20</sup>

We know that this opinion was due to the conviction that only by the presentation of a living authority, continuous through the ages, could unbelief be effectively met. But the question arises, as we review the last fifty years, whether Newman's opinion has proved in any sense accurate. Dr. Fairbairn seems to be much nearer the truth when he writes:

"Over against his charge, 'outside Catholicism things are tending to Atheism', I place this as the simple record of fact, verifiable by all who choose to pursue the necessary enquiries—inside Catholicism things have tended, and still, wherever mind is active, do tend, to the completest negation."<sup>21</sup>

The history of Roman Catholicism on the Continent during the last few years tends increasingly to the conclusion that Rome is responsible for more unbelief than any other Institution in the world. To quote again from the *Church of Ireland Gazette*:

"So far from leaving folk secure in their ancient faith, Newman by the force and depth with which he argued the thesis that you must either be an atheist or a Roman Catholic, or else commit

<sup>18</sup> Vol. ii, p. 539.

<sup>19</sup> Vol. i, p. 58.

<sup>20</sup> Vol. i, p. 81.

<sup>21</sup> *Catholicism, Roman and Anglican*, p. 134.

intellectual suicide, succeeded in making a large number of his disciples very uncomfortable, and inducing a smaller number definitely to move on."

And the reason for this may be summed up in Dr. Fairbairn's striking words:

"He who places the rational nature of man on the side of Atheism, that he may the better defend a Church, saves the Church at the expense of religion and God."<sup>22</sup>

As the *Times* review truly said, Newman

"never understood the antagonist he had challenged. . . . This is not the place to analyze his philosophy as concentrated in the *Grammar of Assent*. It is sufficient to say that Newman himself confessed that it is not calculated to convince anyone who is not already prepared to be convinced. . . . In short, those who do not accept the principles on which he bases his philosophy are 'infidels'. He has no understanding of the essentially religious character of the claim of the modern scientific spirit that no artificial barriers shall be erected across the path of human knowledge, and that no mortal shall dare to say to another, 'Thus far shalt thou go in inquiry and no further'."

#### IV. NEWMAN'S DOCTRINAL POSITION

From his Anglican days Newman's pronouncements on Doctrine, especially when related to history, are at once interesting and puzzling, for in the light of certain unquestioned facts of history it is perplexing to understand how so acute a mind could have adopted the attitude that he did on many fundamental and doctrinal questions. What, for instance, are we to make out of this?

"The general type of Christendom, and the relation of part with part, in early times and in the present is one and the same—that the Catholic Church and sects and heresies then, correspond to the Roman, Protestant, and other Communion now—and in particular that the Anglican Church corresponds to the Semi-Arian body, or the Nestorian, or the Monophysite."<sup>23</sup>

Can any true historical student say that there is a real correspondence between the early centuries and the present day? Would it not again seem as though to Newman the wish were father to the thought?

<sup>22</sup> *Catholicism, Roman and Anglican*, p. 140.

<sup>23</sup> Vol. i, p. 122.

It is also an unending puzzle to minds brought up on the New Testament to read Newman's statements about the presence of Christ in the Sacrament.

"I am writing next room to the Chapel. It is such an incomprehensible blessing to have Christ's bodily presence in one's house, within one's walls, as swallows up all other privileges and destroys, or should destroy, every pain. To know that He is close by—to be able again and through the day to go in to Him; and be sure, my dearest W., when I am thus in His presence you are not forgotten. It is *the* place for intercession surely, where the Blessed Sacrament is. Thus Abraham, our father, pleaded before his hidden Lord and God in the valley."<sup>24</sup>

"It is really most wonderful to see the Divine Presence looking out almost into the open streets from the various Churches so that at St. Lawrence's we saw the people take off their hats from the other side of the street as they passed along; no one to guard it, but perhaps an old woman who sits at work before the Church door, or has some wares to sell."<sup>25</sup>

To say nothing of the Divine Presence being circumscribed in this way, the whole conception seems to suggest a spiritual materialism and a failure to realize the true spirituality of the New Testament conception of the presence of God in Christ.

And of like manner are the references to relics, of which the following is a typical instance:

"And then to go into St. Ambrose's Church—where the body of the Saint lies—and to kneel at those relics, which have been so powerful, and whose possessor I have heard and read of more than any other saints from a boy."<sup>26</sup>

It is hardly credible that a mind like that of Newman could have become so convinced of the power of these things.

The many allusions to the Mother of our Lord point in the same direction:

"What took us to Bologna was that we went round by Loretto. We went there to get the Blessed Virgin's blessing on us. I have ever been under her shadow, if I may say it. My College was St. Mary's and my own Church; and when I went to Littlemore, there, by my own previous disposition, our Blessed Lady

<sup>24</sup> Vol. i, p. 118.

<sup>25</sup> Vol. i, p. 139.

<sup>26</sup> Vol. i, p. 139.



was waiting for me. Nor did she do nothing for me in that low habitation, of which I always think with pleasure."<sup>27</sup>

This is a characteristic expression, and the allusion to Littlemore, which was in his Anglican days, will not be overlooked or misunderstood. But side by side with this there is a curious incident that should be noticed. During the Achilli trial it was suggested that certain Dominican ladies should pray before the image of the Virgin for Newman's success in the Law Courts. Newman replied, expressing at once what Mr. Wilfred Ward calls his "simple faith", and also his "caution against over-confident hope for a visible interposition of providence". As the nuns did not like this caution and criticised Newman for his scepticism, he replied, pleading justification, saying that it was "taxing our Blessed Lady unfairly—not her power, but her willingness".

"What right have I, for the sake of my private ends, to put your Image on trial? It has done everything for you,—because you have asked what you ought to ask. Now you wish me to ask a *very hard* thing, and that (in a way) *selfishly*, and you make me say to Our Lady, 'Do it, under pain of your Image losing its repute'. Now I do want light thrown upon this. I assuredly have a simple faith in the omnipotence of her intercession—and I know well (not to say my Lord expressly tells me) that we can not ask too much, so that we are but importunate and unwearied in asking. Still it is just possible, and rather more than possible, that it is His blessed will that I should suffer—and though I don't think so quite so much as I did, yet somehow at first sight I do not like to be *unkind*, if I may use such a word to your Image. . . . If her Madonna gains my acquittal I will gladly come to Clifton, preach a sermon in her honour, and if it is consistent with your rules, carry her in procession."<sup>28</sup>

There does not seem to be anything particularly masculine about these expressions of opinion. They appear to bear out the opinion expressed by so many about Newman, that there was a decidedly feminine strain in his character.

Newman's view of the Roman Church on its practical side is also worth observing:

<sup>27</sup> Vol. i, p. 193.

<sup>28</sup> Vol. i, p. 289.

"To know too that you are in the Communion of Saints, to know that you have cast your lot among all those Blessed Servants of God who are the choice fruit of His Passion, that you have their intercessions on high, that you may address them, and above all the Glorious Mother of God, what thoughts can be greater than these? And to feel yourself surrounded by all holy arms and defences, with the Sacraments week by week, with the Priests' Benedictions, with crucifixes and rosaries which have been blessed, with holy water, with places or with acts to which Indulgences have been attached, and the 'whole armour of God'—and to know that, when you die, you will not be forgotten, that you will be sent out of the world with the holy unctions upon you, and will be followed with masses and prayers; to know in short that the Atonement of Christ is not a thing at a distance."<sup>29</sup>

The idea that all these descriptions of what Rome means are only another way of expressing the truth that "the Atonement of Christ is not a thing at a distance" is a striking but characteristic testimony to the inability of Newman, and indeed of Romanism, to rise to the height of a spiritual religion that links the Atoning Sacrifice to present personal needs by means of the Holy Spirit, instead of through these various and often puerile supports.

Newman's attitude on the question of Papal Infallibility is also noteworthy. In harmony with his own peculiar Doctrine of Development he is able to say that while our Lord set up a Church in the beginning, the present Roman Church is the continuation:

"Its early vague teaching is to be explained and commented on by its later and fuller; and as to Infallibility that, to say the least, there is nothing in its early teaching of a positive nature to hinder the interpretation of the early teaching on that point in the sense which is contained in its later teaching."<sup>30</sup>

There is surely something lacking in the logic of a statement like this. Side by side with his high view of the Church is a very doubtful view of its rulers at a given time:

"Who is Propaganda? Virtually, one sharp man of business, who works day and night, and despatches his work quick off, to the East and the West; a high dignitary indeed, perhaps an Archbishop, but after all little more than a clerk, or (according to his name) a Secretary, and two or three clerks under him.

<sup>29</sup> Vol. i, p. 241.

<sup>30</sup> Vol. i, p. 441.



In this age at least, *Quantula sapientia regimur*. Well, if all this could be said of any human institution, I should feel very indignant, but it is the very sense and certainty I have of the Church being divine, which at once makes it easy to bear. All this will be over-ruled; it may lead to much temporary mischief, but it will be overruled."<sup>31</sup>

This distinction between the Church and those who are responsible for its utterances will not satisfy any except those who have given their adhesion to the Doctrine of Papal Infallibility. The same inconsistency is found all through the controversy connected with the Council of 1870. While fully accepting the infallibility of the Church he refuses to believe that such acceptance is incompatible with genuine reasoning on the part of a Roman Catholic. Those who, like Manning and Ward, much more logically set aside all reason and private judgment were strongly opposed by Newman, though at the evident expense of his logic. It is these men and others like them to whom he refers as "the aggressive and insolent faction" at the Vatican Council. It is again curious that Newman should have used this phrase, then should have forgotten that he had done so and denied the use, and afterwards, when he referred to a copy of the letter, be compelled to admit that the words were his. When the decision of the Council had been made known Newman accepted it in the following words written to Père Hyacinthe:

"The Church is the Mother of high and low, of the rulers as well as of the ruled. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*. If she declares by her various voices that the Pope is infallible in certain matters, in those matters infallible he is. What Bishops and people say all over the earth, that is the truth, whatever complaint we may have against certain ecclesiastical proceedings. Let us not oppose ourselves to the universal voice."<sup>32</sup>

On the other hand, as Mr. Wilfrid Ward points out, "Newman for months busied himself in explaining the definition to those who consulted him, as to show its reasonableness, and to distinguish it from the extreme opinions

<sup>31</sup> Vol. i, p. 560.

<sup>32</sup> Vol. ii, p. 376.

of some of its most zealous promoters''.<sup>33</sup> Among other things he was able to say that,

"the dogma has been *acted on* by the Holy See for centuries—the only difference is that now it is actually *recognized*."<sup>34</sup>

As for Döllinger, he condemned his action unequivocally.<sup>35</sup>

It is an inexplicable enigma that a man of Newman's insight and power should have been able to rest content with the comparisons he instituted between the effects of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism among the nations of the earth. In his lectures on "The Difficulties of Anglicanism", lectures which seem to have made a surprising impression on Mr. R. H. Hutton of the *Spectator*, Newman's aim was to show the superior morality and spirituality of Roman Catholic countries as compared with Protestant. And this is how he vindicates his position:

"Vice does not involve a neglect of the external duties of religion. The crusaders had faith sufficient to bind them to a perilous pilgrimage and warfare; they kept the Friday's abstinence, and planted the tents of their mistresses within the shadow of the pavilion of the glorious St. Louis."<sup>36</sup>

It is difficult for anyone who understands the true meaning of New Testament morality to harmonise these statements about vice and religious duties. It only goes to show, what is evident from many Roman Catholic authors, that faith in the Roman sense tends to become little more than intellectual orthodoxy with no necessary causal function in relation to ethical conduct.

Something similar to this was expressed by Mr. Justice Coleridge in his judgment on the occasion of the Achilli trial. Mr. Wilfrid Ward could hardly be expected, we suppose, to quote all that Coleridge said, but notwithstanding anything that might be felt about the character of the Judge, his words, looked at in themselves, can scarcely be set aside. This is how Coleridge described Newman's part:

<sup>33</sup> Vol. ii, p. 376.

<sup>34</sup> Vol. ii, p. 379.

<sup>35</sup> Vol. ii, p. 379.

<sup>36</sup> Quoted by Rigg, *Oxford High Anglicanism*, p. 154.

"The whole course of the pages which lies before me is conceived in the same way; partly in what may be called the ferocious merriment, partly in triumph, partly in exultation over the unhappy man whose foul offences you are producing before your hearers. Surely if you have felt yourself called upon to act as a judge and an executioner upon a man so foul, so wretched as you describe Dr. Achilli to be, you should have approached that task with feelings of sorrow and sadness, executed it with tenderness and consideration."<sup>37</sup>

## V. THE KINGSLEY EPISODE

It was natural that Mr. Wilfrid Ward should make the most of the controversy with Kingsley which led to the writing of the *Apologia*. No one now questions that on the purely personal side Kingsley was in the wrong, and yet it is equally evident that Newman rejoiced, not to say exulted, in the opportunity thereby given him of bringing himself once more into prominence with the English people and of rehabilitating himself in their eyes. There is evidently another side to the view of the *Apologia* taken by Mr. Ward, and it does not seem to be quite candid to refer to Prebendary Meyrick's pamphlet, *Is not Kingsley right after all?* only to speak of the testimony borne therein to "the wave of popular applause which the appearance of the *Apologia* brought with it". Even Canon Scott Holland amid all his enthusiasm for Newman is compelled to write as follows:

"Every word [of Newman's] seems to have in it a human gesture. And therefore it is that something of what poor Kingsley so crudely tried to say, retains a germ of truth. These words and sayings of Dr. Newman's can never detach themselves quite from the particular mood in which he is writing, and the particular situation in which he is involved. They never quite acquire a simple, direct, objective value of their own. You have to know why this or that was written just then, and what was the motive at work which made Dr. Newman so write."<sup>38</sup>

The Rev. A. W. Hutton expresses the following opinion as to the *Apologia*:

<sup>37</sup> *British Weekly*, February 29, 1912.

<sup>38</sup> *Commonwealth*, March, 1912.

"It may be taken as certain that Newman would have taken no notice of Kingsley had his sentence in the review of Froude's 'History' in *Macmillan's Magazine* stopped short at the words, 'Truth for its own sake has never been a virtue with the Roman clergy'. It was the subsequent sentence, 'Father Newman informs us that it need not, and on the whole ought not to be', that roused him; and he saw instantly what an opportunity was here given him to vindicate his own career, since those precise words could not be anywhere quoted from his published works. So he worked up most dramatically an exhibition of indignation, which many read now with distress and reprobation, because it seems to them so profoundly unchristian in its tone; and so it would be, were it not for the fact, confessed by Newman himself many years later in a letter to Sir William Cope, that it was mainly affectation. It was the beating of the drum outside the booth to call in people to see the show; and, when attention had been aroused, he published what he had been preparing for publication at least two years previously—a vindication of himself exclusively. The calumny against the Roman clergy, that 'truth for its own sake has never been one of their virtues', was left out of the account, and was only half-heartedly repudiated in a subsequent note; while the book itself tells us, in wonderfully interesting detail, the story of Newman's own inner life—so much of it as he thought it wise to reveal; and its publication did undoubtedly effect its purpose: he was no longer forgotten or ignored by the people of England."<sup>39</sup>

## VI. NEWMAN AND MANNING

Ever since the publication of Purcell's *Life of Manning* we have been aware in a special degree of the relations between Newman and Manning. In the light of what happened in the later days of their association it is curious to read that Newman actually wanted Manning to be his Sub-Rector in the Roman Catholic Irish University. Influences, however, were at work which led to the severance of the two men, and now we have Newman's side of the controversy, which, though less detailed than Manning's, gives much the same impression as that left by Purcell. There seems to be no doubt that Manning together with W. G. Ward did his best to thwart Newman's projects from time to time. Their conception of the Roman Church, and in particular their views of papal infallibility were distinctly

<sup>39</sup> *Churchman*, October, 1908, p. 590.

different, and in some respects divergent, and Manning became convinced that Newman's line was prejudicial to the highest interests of the Ultramontaniam with which he had become enamoured. Newman fully believed that it was due to Manning's influence that the Oxford scheme was first thwarted and then destroyed. He speaks of Manning "acting on the poor Cardinal" (Wiseman) and also that he "was more set against my going to Oxford, than merely against Catholic youths going there."<sup>40</sup> This is another expression of Newman about his fellow-worker:

"I think this of him (Manning); he wishes me no ill, but he is determined to bend or break all opposition. He has an iron will and resolves to have his own way. On his promotion he wished to make me a Bishop *in partibus*. I declined. I wish to have my own true liberty; it would have been a very false step on my part to have accepted it. He wanted to gain me over. He has never offered me any place or office. The only one I am fit for, the only one I would accept, a place at Oxford, he is doing all he can to keep me from."<sup>41</sup>

The story of Newman's presence at Manning's consecration is all in the same direction. There was an outward politeness, of necessity, but the two men were inwardly at opposite poles of thought and feeling on many matters. What is especially puzzling is the way in which each expresses his purpose of saying Masses for the other with special "intention". The spirit in which these determinations are expressed raises serious questions as to the ethical value of the Masses themselves. It is perhaps difficult to apportion blame for this state of affairs when we remember that from different standpoints both men were masterful, proud, and determined. But it is pretty evident that Manning was jealous of Newman, and it was perhaps the consciousness that notwithstanding his position in the hierarchy, Newman was by far the greater influence in the Roman Church that led Manning to take the summary steps that he did from time to time. It is in any case a sad and sorry story, and speaks volumes to those who have ears to hear.

<sup>40</sup> Vol. ii, p. 273.

<sup>41</sup> Vol. ii, p. 125.



## VII. NEWMAN AND FAIRBAIRN

It was a coincidence that could hardly be overlooked that Dr. Fairbairn's death happened just about the time of the publication of these volumes on Newman, for it reminded many of the controversy between the two men in 1885. Fairbairn with his characteristically acute criticism attacked Newman as guilty of intellectual scepticism, with special reference to the *Apologia* and *Grammar of Assent*. Newman evidently realised that Fairbairn was not another Kingsley, for he gave special and continued attention to the articles. Acting on the advice of two friends, Newman did not continue the controversy in the *Contemporary Review*, especially as it was thought that two other replies in that publication made anything else from him unnecessary. He issued a pamphlet, however, printed for private circulation, in which Dr. Fairbairn's contention was further discussed. But as we review the controversy it is impossible to question the truth of Dr. Fairbairn's main contention. It was doubtless possible for Newman to say that he did not use the word "reason" in the sense attributed to him, but taking his writings all together, it is hardly possible to deny that his characteristic weakness was a distrust of man's reasoning powers which compelled him to take refuge in an infallible Church. Dr. Fairbairn's part of the controversy has since appeared in his book, *Catholicism, Roman and Anglican*, and a careful study of the chapters dealing with Newman cannot but impress readers with the essential truth of the writer's position and the acuteness of his criticism of Newman's attitude. Fairbairn points out that the time of the Oxford Movement was "a splendid moment for an Apologist built after the manner of Augustine",<sup>42</sup> one who would have "recognised as Christian, and claimed for Christianity, the new spirit, with all its nobler truths, ideals, aims".<sup>43</sup> But Newman's attitude was of the entirely opposite kind. He felt a change in the air, and he feared and hated it:

<sup>42</sup> P. 89.<sup>43</sup> P. 91.

"He idealized the *past*, he disliked the *present*, and he trembled for the *future*. His only hope was a return to the past, and to a past which had never existed save in the imagination of the romancer. What he hated and resisted he did not take the trouble to understand."<sup>44</sup>

And so Fairbairn concludes that Newman

"succeeded wonderfully in making Roman Catholics of Anglicans; but he failed in the apologetic that saves the infidel, and baptizes the spirit of a rational and revolutionary age into the faith of Christ".<sup>45</sup>

This attitude, which was true of Newman's Anglican days was essentially true of his position to the end. Newman always idealised the past, but he never loved reality sufficient to get behind idealizations, and so Fairbairn concludes in these words:

"The Freethinker sacrifices religion to reason in one way, by declaring that his individual mind is the measure of religious truth; the Catholic does it in another way, by declaring that unless religion come under the aegis of his Church, it will assuredly perish before the corrosive action of the intellect. Each position is an awful degradation of religion, but the latter is the greater; for the intellect will not, indeed cannot, cease to be active and critical, and what is declared incapable of resisting its criticism is handed over to death. There is surely a nobler Catholicism than this, one not of Rome, but of man, based, not on the excommunication of the reason, but on the reconciliation of the whole nature, intellect, conscience, heart, will, to God and His truth."<sup>46</sup>

The more Fairbairn's masterly criticism is studied in the light of Newman's Life, and the more carefully his section on "Development" in his *Place of Christ in Modern Theology* is studied, the more clearly it will be seen that he has penetrated to the heart of Newman's position.

### VIII. NEWMAN'S PERSONAL CHARACTER

When we endeavor to understand something of Newman's own personal life we are impressed with the many-sidedness of his character, and especially with what may be rightly called its elusiveness. That he was sincere is beyond

<sup>44</sup> P. 91.

<sup>45</sup> P. 93.

<sup>46</sup> P. 131.



all question; it cannot be doubted for a single instant. But side by side with this sincerity there were other elements which were, to say the least, perplexing to many inside the Roman Church as well as outside. There was a decided aloofness of attitude by reason of the subtlety of his mind, and no one seems to have been ever quite certain of what he might say or do. This is shown not only in the biography,<sup>47</sup> but also by the testimony of intimates like the Rev. A. W. Hutton.<sup>48</sup> It is always difficult for a Protestant to distinguish between sincerity and sophistry of the Roman Communion. Thus when lecturing on the Anglican controversy, he was afraid of being satirical in Church in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament, and he asks, apparently in all seriousness, whether it would be possible to have a curtain between the Altar and the body of the Church!<sup>49</sup> Again, we are told that when Pius IX addressed a Brief to the Archbishop of Munich, "Newman himself felt perfectly able to accept the Brief in its letter. But he spoke of his dread of the application of parts of the Brief."<sup>50</sup> This distinction is difficult of comprehension by ordinary people. Once again, in writing against Mr. Gladstone, we are told that in dealing with the subject Newman had one great difficulty in the opposition which he feared from W. G. Ward and the *Dublin Review*. And Mr. Wilfrid Ward says, "With extraordinary skill . . . he had so stated the case as apparently to leave W. G. Ward's main abstract principles intact . . . the result was that W. G. Ward . . . finding his own principle apparently conceded, was far from critical as to details".<sup>51</sup> And yet, as we know from the story, Newman was entirely opposed to Ward's position on this subject. It is this marvellous intellectual power of distinction when it verges on moral questions that creates a feeling of suspicion in non-

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<sup>47</sup> Vol. i, p. 18.

<sup>49</sup> Vol. i, p. 231.

<sup>51</sup> Vol. ii, p. 406.

<sup>48</sup> *Expositor*, 1890.

<sup>50</sup> Vol. i, p. 565.

Roman minds, and tends to make them question the sincerity of men who can employ these weapons.

Newman has been charged by some writers with hypersensitiveness, and it undoubtedly seems true that his own position and influence bulked largely in the consideration of many of the leading questions of his life. The Rev. A. W. Hutton points this out when he says that

“throughout his active life Newman was always fighting for his own hand, or else was patiently waiting an advantageous occasion for so doing. Like other great men, it was his own career and the significance of it that he contemplated with intense interest.”<sup>61</sup>

This is seen in almost all the conflicts that he waged with the Roman authorities, and making every allowance for their intolerable action, Newman’s attitude reveals a definite egotism that is uncommonly hard to reconcile with his many expressions of sincerity and humility. We have already noticed the feminine element in him, and side by side with this there was another aspect which has been rightly described as “feline”, for nothing is plainer than the severity, heartlessness, and cruelty with which he dealt with opponents. We have seen something of this in the Kingsley episode, and the confession already quoted from Newman’s letter to Sir William Cope is sufficient proof of this peculiar and saddening aspect of his character. Again, it is impossible to avoid noticing the abounding pleasure and childlike satisfaction which he expressed in connection with his appointment to the Cardinalate, when he burst forth with “the cloud is lifted from me for ever”. We can only charitably attribute the remark to the forgetfulness of old age as it altogether overlooked the many earlier severe utterances to the effect that he could never trust the authorities again.

It is the paradox of various and apparently conflicting elements in Newman’s character that makes him so great a puzzle and prevents us from thoroughly understanding him. As Dr. Sarolea in his striking Monograph has said:

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<sup>61</sup> *Churchman*, October, 1908, p. 589.

"He is affectionate and reserved. He has the imagination of a mystic, and the corrosive intellect of a sceptic. He delights in intellectual difficulties and yearns for certainty. He is sincerity incarnate, and possessed of subtilty which the greatest casuist might have envied. He is disinterested to the verge of self-abdication; he has sacrificed everything to enter the Roman Church, and, having once entered it, he accepts twenty-five years of disgrace and suppression with admirable resignation; and at the same time he is egotistic, introspective, of an almost morbid subjectivity. He is timid and aggressive. He loves solitude, and yet no man in this century has drawn to himself so many hearts."

### IX. GENERAL IMPRESSIONS

As we review the long life and career of this remarkable man we cannot help asking the question whether after all he found his right place in the Roman Church. It seems scarcely possible to resist the conclusion expressed by the reviewer in the *New York Nation*:

"The more deeply one considers his career, the more thoroughly is one convinced that the act of 1845 was something of a *gran rifiuto*; in succumbing to an authority which promised to allay the anguish of his intellect he rejected the great mission of the imagination that he might have fulfilled."

The Rev. A. W. Hutton expresses the same thought in these words:

"Some will reflect with sorrow on 'what might have been', if a man so peculiarly gifted, so keen intellectually, so attractive in his personality, and so profoundly and effectively converted at the age of sixteen that he never doubted of the fact through seventy years of controversy and much disillusioning—if such a man had resolutely turned his back on the temptation of sacerdotalism, and had worked with his splendid energy for the upbuilding of sane, Evangelical, Scriptural religion within the Church of his early years, the Church which seems to have before it, on account of its middle position, a future of the utmost importance in the healing of the divisions of Christendom. His own pen, endowed with almost magical power, has told us not only of his early conversion, but also of the happiness of his Anglican ordination, and of his work as a young clergyman at St. Clement's, Oxford. This part of Newman's career is now almost forgotten; but in some ways it was his best as well as his happiest time, for he was free from sophistry then. What better evidence can there be of the terrible overmastering power of the sacerdotal

idea than the fact that, when Newman came under its influence, these happy and useful years seemed to him as naught?<sup>53</sup>

We are led to this conclusion by many an incident in his Roman life, for as the *Spectator* said:

"There are a good many passages which said of the Church of Rome what in his last sermon as an Anglican he had said of the Church of England, 'O my mother! why dost thou leave us all the day idle in the market-place'?"<sup>54</sup>

It is not unlikely that Newman's difficulties in the Roman Church were at least in part caused by his own words about Rome in his Anglican days. The *British Weekly* quotes the following passage, and rightly says that the terrific force of its denunciation can be realised only when the actual words are read. It was published in 1837, and republished in 1838:

"If we are induced to believe the professions of Rome, and make advance toward her, as if a sister or a mother Church, which in theory she is, we shall find too late that we are in the arms of a pitiless and unnatural relative, who will but triumph in the arts which have inveigled us within her reach. . . . Let us be sure she is our enemy and will do us mischief when she can. . . . We need not depart from Christian charity towards her. We must deal with her as we would towards a friend who is visited by derangement; in great affliction, with all affectionate, tender thoughts, with tearful regret, and a broken heart, but still with a steady eye, and a firm hand. For in truth she is a Church beside herself, abounding in noble gifts and rightful titles, but unable to use them religiously; crafty, obstinate, wilful, malicious, cruel, unnatural as madmen are. Or rather, she may be said to resemble a demoniac. . . . Thus she is her real self only in name, and till God vouchsafe to restore her, we must treat her as if she were that evil one which governs her."

Other similar references are these:

"The Roman Church I will not blame, but pity—she is, as I have said, spellbound, as if by an evil spirit; she is in thralldom. . . . Old Rome is still alive. In the corrupt Papal system we have the very cruelty, the craft, and the ambition of the republic."

Now while Newman retracted all his utterances against Rome, though curiously he did it anonymously and in an obscure journal, it is not difficult to imagine that Rome remembered them, and that they may have been instrumental

<sup>53</sup> *Churchman*, October, 1908, p. 593.

<sup>54</sup> March 2, 1912, p. 350.

in preventing their author from obtaining that position in the Roman Church to which he felt entitled. His own justification for using such language included among other things "a wish to repel the charge of Romanism". Under these circumstances it is easy to realise the force of the writer of the article in the *British Weekly* (presumably Sir W. Robertson Nicoll), that from the Roman point of view Newman had no reason to complain of his treatment in the Church of Rome.

The question of the unity and continuity of the Church was in some respects the dominant factor in Newman's life. From his Tractarian days he was possessed by the thought of the Apostolic Succession. He believed and taught that the unity of the Church was to be found in and through a visible organization, that from the time of the Apostles there had been a succession of Churches, or, at any rate, one Church in many branches, possessing the Catholic faith and guarded and guaranteed by a sacerdotal ministry lineally descended from the Apostles. Now it may at once be admitted that if we start with the Church as a visible organization the logical outcome is the Papacy. Long ago one of Newman's contemporaries at Oriel, the Rev. E. A. Litton (in his *Church of Christ*) showed conclusively that the necessary result and inevitable outcome of Cyprian's Doctrine of the Episcopate is the Roman Papacy. But the Evangelical view of unity and continuity starts quite differently and denies that the *esse* of the Church lies in organization. The New Testament teaches that the Church is an organism rather than an organization, and that, as Newman himself once admitted, it started as an idea rather than an institution. The true view of the Church is that of a community in living spiritual union with Christ though naturally expressing itself on the earthly and visible side in connection with visible organizations. But, as Hort says, the Church which is His Body does not consist of the aggregate of Churches but of individual members.<sup>55</sup> It is simply impossible for anyone

<sup>55</sup> *Christian Ecclesia*, p. 168.



to say *where* the Church is at any given time, because the visible and spiritual are not coterminous, but it is perfectly possible to say *what* the Church is, as "the blessed company of all faithful people". This view, though never regarded by Newman as of any account, and to-day spurned by Roman Catholics and extreme Anglicans, is nevertheless the New Testament conception of the Church, and by it Evangelical Christianity stands or falls.

This doctrine is clearly identical with that formulated by the English Church at the Reformation, as seen by the studiously broad statements of the Articles on the Church and Ministry; the absence of any reference to episcopacy, and the fellowship of Cranmer, Ridley, and their associates with Reformers of non-episcopal Churches. Even Bishop Gibson in his work on the Articles is compelled to recognise the significance of these documents:

"Certainly all that the actual terms of the Article now under consideration bind us to is this: that Episcopacy is not in itself superstitious or ungodly. This amounts to no more than saying that it is an allowable form of Church government, and leaves the question open whether it is the only one. This question is not decided for us elsewhere in the Articles; for even where we might have reasonably expected some light to be thrown upon it, we are met with a remarkable silence. Thus there is no mention of Episcopacy in the Article on the Church; and in that 'de vocatione ministrorum', as was pointed out in the remarks upon it, there is a singular vagueness in the description of those who 'have public authority given unto them in the congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard'. The Articles, then, leave us without any real guidance on the question whether Episcopacy is to be regarded as necessary."<sup>56</sup>

Nor does the Bishop's subsequent endeavor to turn the force of these admissions really detract from the significance of the admissions themselves. It is well known that the doctrine of Apostolic Succession did not come into the English Church from Rome, and was no part of any heritage from the Middle Ages. Indeed, it was not heard for some time after the days of Cranmer and Ridley. It was due to the necessity of controversy between High Churchmen and Puri-

<sup>56</sup> Gibson, *The Thirty-Nine Articles*, vol. ii, p. 744.

tans in the closing years of Elizabeth's reign. The late Dr. Pocock, a recognised High Church authority, wrote in the *Guardian* of November 23, 1892, that

"the belief in the Apostolic Succession in the Episcopate is not to be found in any of the writings of Elizabethan Bishops".

To the same effect is the well known statement of Keble in his preface to Hooker's *Works*:

"It might have been expected that the defenders of the English hierarchy against the first Puritans should take the highest ground and challenge for the Bishops the same unreserved submission on the same plea of exclusive Apostolic prerogative, which their adversaries feared not to insist on for their elders and deacons. It is notorious, however, that such was not in general the line, preferred by Jewel, Whitgift, Bishop Cooper, and others, to whom the management of that controversy was entrusted during the early part of Elizabeth's reign. . . . It is enough with them to show that the government by archbishops and bishops is ancient and allowable; they never venture to urge its *exclusive* claims, or to connect the succession with the validity of the Holy Sacraments."<sup>57</sup>

Extreme Anglicans are fond of charging Evangelicals with low views of the Church, but in reality the low views come from themselves, for there is scarcely any view of the Church so essentially "low" and narrow as the ordinary so-called "Catholic" conception. Those who believe in the view of the Church as the Body of Christ taught by St. Paul in Ephesians can never have any but truly high views of that community of which Christ Himself is the Head, and no view that does not give special attention to the Ephesian aspect of the Church can rightly be called "Catholic". Dr. Hodgkin in his recent interesting volume of Essays (*The Trial of Our Faith*) calls attention to the way in which the word "Catholic" has become entirely changed, if not distorted, from its original beautiful universalism:

"This is surely true of the word Catholic in its real use in the present actual world in which we live, however different may be its ideal signification, that it is a term not of inclusion but of exclusion: that the chief charm of it, to most of those who use it lies in the fact that it does *not* connote a universal Christian

<sup>57</sup> Preface to Hooker's *Works*, p. 59.



Church: that it is as they conceive, their own special and peculiar heritage into which the multitude of heretics round them have no right to enter."<sup>58</sup>

In opposition to all such narrow and exclusive ideas the Evangelical position is expressed in the words of Ignatius; "Where Christ is, there is the Catholic Church", and if it be asked, Where is Christ? the answer is as obvious as it can be: Where the Holy Spirit is. And if people persist in inquiring again, Where is the Holy Spirit? the reply is equally obvious: Where the fruit of the Holy Spirit is. Those who wish to know where are the individuals composing the true Church can easily discover this for themselves if they wish to do so. The Church is "the blessed company of all faithful people", and the words of Bishop Wilberforce, applied originally to R. W. Sibthorpe, are equally applicable to Newman, Pusey, and the other leaders of the extreme movement, for all of them "held the *πρωτον ψεύδος* that unity is to be gained by members of the Church Catholic through union with one visible center".<sup>59</sup> As a simple matter of historical fact there never has been a unit of organization in the Christian Church from the moment that the earliest body of Christians left Jerusalem for other places. Unity is not dependent upon the unit of a visible center any more than it is on unanimity of doctrine, or uniformity of ritual or organization.

Another thought instinctively arises as to how far Newman's Christianity really represents the true Christianity of Christ and the New Testament. Although he found peace and satisfaction in his union with the Roman Church, and especially in his devotion to the Sacrament, it cannot be said that his life was happy, or that it expressed and recommended what the Bible calls "the joy of the Lord". "As years go on", he records in his diary, "I have less sensible devotion and inward life." He even notes a change in his own physical expression:

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<sup>58</sup> P. 231.

<sup>59</sup> *Wilberforce's Life*, vol. i, p. 203.

"Till the affair of No. 90 and my going to Littlemore, I had my mouth half open, and commonly a smile on my face—and from that time onwards my mouth has been closed and contracted, and the muscles are so set now, that I cannot but look grave and forbidding."

In a very pathetic letter written to Keble in 1863 the closing words seem to betoken some great hidden sorrow:

"You are always with me a thought of reverence and love, and there is nothing I love better than you, and Isaac, and Copeland, and many others I could name, except Him Whom I ought to love best of all and supremely. May He Himself, Who is the over-abundant compensation for all losses, give me His own presence, and then I shall want nothing and desiderate nothing, but none *but* He *can* make up for the loss of those old familiar faces which haunt me continually."

Canon Scott Holland notices this feature in the Biography:

"The hopeless incapacity of Rome to understand and use Dr. Newman gave him those thirty-five miserable years which the piteous photographs in the book make visible. The only thing I regret in the book is the publication of that pitiful picture of Dr. Newman seated in a chair with Father Ambrose St. John. It is too depressing, and serves to explain the overwhelming pathos of that sight at Littlemore, in 1868, recorded by Canon Irvine, who saw, leaning over the Lych Gate, sobbing as in deep trouble, the worn, broken figure of a poorly dressed old man, with the collar of his old grey coat pulled up to hide his face, and the flaps of his hat pulled down, so that Canon Irvine could not persuade himself that it was really Dr. Newman, there by the wall."<sup>60</sup>

It is therefore impossible to avoid pressing home the question as to whether Rome provides that strong, assured, and really buoyant Christianity which we know is the predominant mark of the life depicted in the pages of the New Testament. In a recent book already quoted, there is a reference to Newman which is very much to the point:

"I cannot read the *Apologia*, I cannot look at his portrait, with the face so furrowed by anxiety and distress, without feeling that his predominant emotion was fear, fear lest after all his searchings and strivings the Almighty should cast him into Hell because he did not belong to the true Church. Looking at that face, I cannot feel that the Gospel was to him really 'Glad

<sup>60</sup> *Commonwealth*, March, 1912.

Tidings'. I am sure that he knew something of the Spirit of the Lord, but, owing to a certain morbidness of his nature, not to him did the Spirit of the Lord bring the rightful liberty."<sup>61</sup>

It is also necessary to ask how far Newman's influence can be said to have affected the Modernist Movement in the Roman Church. It is true that Mr. W. S. Lilly, in the *Nineteenth Century and After* for March, urges that Pope Pius X has settled this question by his letter expressive of sympathy with Newman. But in spite of this no one can doubt the close affinity between the Doctrine of Development as held by Loisy and the original idea as set forth by Newman. Very many are of the opinion that, as the *Times* review remarked,

"the seal set on Newman's work by Leo XIII has been roughly broken by the famous Encyclical *Pascendi*, directed in 1907 against the Modernists by Pope Pius X."

And this, to quote the same writer, "raises once more the whole question of Newman's position and work in the Roman Church". Most people will agree with Mr. A. W. Hutton who writes as follows:

"While it is true enough to say that Newman was no modernist, and, indeed, had none of the learning that might have enabled him to see the strength of the modernist position—while he would, in fact, have shuddered at the conclusions arrived at by Loisy and others—there are here and there in his Catholic writings modernist germs, and his *Grammar of Assent* is not at all on the orthodox lines which both Leo XIII and Pius X have insisted upon as indispensable. So that, while it is necessary just at present for the honour of Leo XIII and for the conciliation of many Catholics, both in England and elsewhere, who regard Newman as their spiritual father and the justifier of their remaining within the fold, to maintain his substantial orthodoxy, there is reason to anticipate that some years hence what is now the mystery of Newman will have become the tragedy of Newman, and that (as was the case with Rosmini, thirty-three years after his death) propositions from Newman's works will be formally condemned at Rome, and the dream of his being proclaimed a Doctor of the Church, and so the inaugurator of a new era for Catholicism will be at an end."<sup>62</sup>

As we have read his biography we could not help asking

<sup>61</sup> Hodgkin, *Trial of Our Faith*, p. 227.

<sup>62</sup> *Churchman*, October, 1908, p. 592.

ourselves from time to time whether it was at all likely to bring converts to the Roman Church. We know how fruitful in this respect the *Apologia* was, and even those who are farthest removed from Rome feel the fascination and force of that most charming work. But our impression was that the picture of the sad and chequered life in this biography was not likely to be of any service to the Roman Communion, and we were particularly interested to find our own view confirmed by the writer in the New York *Nation*, who said that

"we know of no book composed by a Catholic which is more likely to deter sympathizers with the Church from entering the bondage of Rome".

One thought seems to stand out beyond all others as we recall the various incidents of Newman's life. It is all so pathetic. It is unspeakably sad to think that a man of his marvellous powers should have been almost entirely broken on the wheel of a hard Romanism when he might have been the magnificent champion of pure Christianity in an age which needed him and it beyond all else. The words of the leading article in the *Times* go to the heart of the matter :

"Touching and full of that sweetness which belonged to him beyond all men are many of the letters and details relating to his occupations at the Oratory. But readers of Mr. Ward's volumes will think sometimes of a prisoned giant who uses his strength no longer, though he has only to put out his hands to pull down the edifice in which he dwells. To be frank, we are not quite sure whether all the men about him fully understood the splendid captive whom they had made; whether some of them were not more puzzled than proud of their acquisition. The thinker, the searcher, the controversialist, the combatant against the errors of a generation uncongenial to him, was transformed into the passive saint; and the picture which we have of him as such is precious. But something, it may be, was lost, something perhaps left unsaid, by reason of this peaceful isolation. On the memorial slab upon his tomb were engraved at his own desire the words 'Ex umbris et imaginibus in veritatem'. Could he have attained that end by other paths than those in which at last he found himself? Children fear to go into the dark and old men into the light—at least many do; was that his case also?"

And to quote Mr. Hutton once again :

"Surely he is a pathetic figure in the religious history of the nineteenth century—a victim of ecclesiasticism: first repudiating in his Tractarian days the simple Evangelical Protestantism in which he had been born and bred; next repudiating and laughing to scorn the Anglo-Catholicism of which he was himself largely the creator; and finally, as seems not unlikely, himself hereafter repudiated as unsound by the Roman Catholicism to which he clung so tenaciously."<sup>63</sup>

To those who know and love primitive Christianity as recorded in the New Testament the story of Newman is indeed a "tragedy". They will rise from the reading of these volumes with a deeper conviction than ever that only in full and constant adherence to the Apostolic Gospel is to be found the source, sustenance, and safeguard of the life, purity, and progress of the Christian Church.

*Toronto.*

W. H. GRIFFITH THOMAS.

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<sup>63</sup> *Churchman*, October, 1908, p. 593.

## THE HYMNODY OF THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL\*

### I

#### IN WHITEFIELD'S CIRCLE

The separation on doctrinal grounds of the Wesleys and George Whitefield in 1741 proved to be a permanent division of the XVIIIth century Revival forces into Methodists and Evangelicals. Whitefield, by reason of his flaming zeal and influence over men, must be regarded as the leader on the Calvinistic side, but he had nothing of Wesley's impulse and ability to organize his followers, and indeed no ambition beyond that of preaching the gospel far and wide. Contemporary observers and critics saw no distinction between Methodists and Evangelicals, even regarding Whitefield as the originator and leader of Methodism.<sup>1</sup> But by the participants themselves the line of theological demarcation was keenly felt from the beginning; and as the Revival progressed each party tended to develop its peculiar methods and even to make a separate sphere of operations. As the Revival extended into the Church of England, the Evangelical clergy came to resent the imputation of Methodism and to lament its nonconformity to parochial order.<sup>2</sup>

There was no one on the Evangelical side who shared to the full John Wesley's deep sense of the importance of the Hymn, his delight in Hymn singing, or his skill in administering it as a Christian ordinance; and certainly no one who equalled Charles Wesley in the facility and felicity of his Hymn writing. Nevertheless the Evangelical Revival

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\* Being the fifth of the lectures upon "The Hymnody of the English-speaking Churches", delivered on the L. P. Stone Foundation at Princeton Theological Seminary, in February, 1910. The sixth (and concluding) lecture has already appeared in this REVIEW, Vol. viii (1910), pp. 353-388.

<sup>1</sup> So Tindal described Whitefield in his *Continuation of Rapin's History of England*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. H. Overton, *The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. London, 1900, pp. 45 ff.



caught and retained something of the glow of Methodist Song, developed its own Hymn writers, and established the permanent lines of Evangelical Hymnody. Most of all, it exercised an influence on the general extension of Hymn singing more immediate and effective than that of Methodism itself.

Whitefield had shared in the use of Hymn singing by the Wesleys as an aid to evangelism. In his early ministry and preaching tours he made use of the metrical Psalms bound up with the Prayer Book, the *Psalms and Hymns* of Dr. Watts, or the Wesleyan Hymns, as one or the other type happened to be convenient or acceptable. It is not clear that he was a writer of Hymns, but he made some use of manuscript Hymns adapted to special themes or occasions.<sup>3</sup> Like Wesley he encouraged also social Hymn singing as an act of devotion or even as a witness-bearing in unexpected places.<sup>4</sup> The practical influence of Whitefield's preaching, wherever he went, outside of such parish churches as suffered him, was overwhelmingly in favor of the singing of Hymns as distinguished from metrical Psalms. This was not only from the force of his personal example in using Hymns freely, but because the evangelical fervor he aroused demanded an evangelical response from his auditors. His influence in this respect was widespread; and we have already noted its part in bringing about "The Era of Watts" in American Churches.

A number of the preachers associated with Whitefield became themselves Hymn writers. John Cennick, while still assisting him, published his *Hymns for the Children of God in the days of their pilgrimage*. By J. C. (in 3 parts. London, 1741-42); and *Sacred Hymns for the use of Religious Societies. Generally composed in dialogues* (Bristol, 1743). Many of these Hymns commended themselves to

<sup>3</sup> See the hymn "for her Ladyship" in *The Life and Times of Selina Countess of Huntingdon*, ed London, 1844, vol. i, p. 117: and that in L. Tyerman, *Life of George Whitefield*, London, 1877, vol. ii, p. 241.

<sup>4</sup> Tyerman, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 241.

Whitefield, and some are still widely known and sung.<sup>5</sup> To the later collection, Joseph Humphreys, a co-worker, contributed six Hymns.<sup>6</sup> Cennick also introduced into some of the societies classes for Hymn singing patterned after the "choirs" of the Moravians, to whom his heart already turned.<sup>7</sup> In 1742 Robert Seagrave published his *Hymns for Christian worship: partly composed, and partly collected from various authors* (London: 4th ed., 1748); of which 45 were original. The first ("Now may the Spirit's holy Fire") Whitefield afterwards made the opening hymn of his own collection; but only "The Pilgrim's Song" ("Rise my Soul, and stretch thy Wings") can be said to have survived.<sup>8</sup> Seagrave was in Anglican orders, and in his preface denies the divine prescription of Psalm singing. Just at the point of leaving Whitefield for the Moravians William Hammond published his *Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs* (London, 1745). His Hymns are of merit,<sup>9</sup> and numerous versions of Latin Hymns anticipated by nearly a century the revival of Protestant interest in Latin Hymnody.

Seagrave's book was prepared for his congregation at Loriner's Hall, which he was Sunday evening lecturer for many years, but it was used more widely. It is likely that all these collections had more or less use in the societies, or at the temporary Tabernacle at Moorfields; but when the new Tabernacle was opened in 1753, Whitefield felt that he should have a hymn book of his own. It appeared as *Hymns for social worship, collected from various authors, and more particularly design'd for the use of the Tabernacle Congregation, in London. By George Whitefield,*

<sup>5</sup> Among them, "Children of the heav'nly King", "Jesus, my All, to Heav'n is gone", "E'er I sleep, for ev'ry Favour", "We sing to Thee, Thou Son of God" and "Brethren let us join to bless".

<sup>6</sup> Among them, "Blessed are the sons of God".

<sup>7</sup> See Tyerman's *Whitefield*, vol. ii, p. 148.

<sup>8</sup> Seagrave's Hymns are highly regarded by Josiah Milller, *Singers and Songs of the Church*, 2nd ed., London, 1869, pp. 152, 153, and have been reprinted by Daniel Sedgwick.

<sup>9</sup> "Awake, and sing the song", and "Lord, we come before Thee now", are arranged from longer Hymns in this book.

*A.B., late of Pembroke College, Oxford, and Chaplain to the Rt. Hon. the Countess of Huntingdon. London: printed by William Strahan, and to be sold at the Tabernacle, near Moorfields. M DCC LIII.*<sup>10</sup>

The Countess of Huntingdon had 'turned Methodist' under the influence of her sister-in-law, Lady Margaret Hastings, who married Benjamin Ingham, one of Wesley's preachers; and became a member of the society meeting in Fetter Lane. She was especially moved by Whitefield's preaching. On his return from America in 1748, she exercised her right as a peeress to appoint him her chaplain, and opened her house in Park Lane that he might preach to semi-weekly gatherings of the aristocracy. She endeavored in vain the next year to reunite the Wesleys and Whitefield, and threw her influence on the side of Whitefield. It was his hope that Lady Huntingdon would assume charge of the societies he had founded, the management of which interfered with his freedom as an evangelist;<sup>11</sup> and it was largely through her encouragement that he undertook to erect the new and larger Tabernacle at Moorfields<sup>12</sup> for whose use his hymn book was prepared.

Whitefield's *Hymns* contained 132 "for public worship"; 38 "for Society and Persons meeting in Christian-Fellowship." It included Hymns by all four of his Hymn writing co-workers; notably of Cennick, the use of whose "Hymns in dialogue" was justified by a reference in the preface to the antiphonal singing of cathedral churches and of the "Celestial Choir".<sup>13</sup> A score of the Hymns of the Wesleys were included, but the Hymns of Watts predominated. Whitefield aimed at a standard of Praise combining the

<sup>10</sup>The book is described in *The Athenaeum* for Nov. 14, 1903, as "the excessively rare first edition of Whitefield's 'Hymns'", and mention made of a copy that "has just changed hands at the price of 2000 guineas". But the 1st ed. is far from being "excessively rare". The copy at the 6th McKee sale in May 1902, brought \$4.50: the writer's copy was purchased from an experienced London dealer in 1896 at half a guinea.

<sup>11</sup>*Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon*, vol. i, pp. 116, 117.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 202, 203.

<sup>13</sup>Preface.

doctrine and dignity of Watts with the evangelical fervor of Charles Wesley and his own colleagues. He thought Congregational Hymns "ought to abound much in Thanksgiving", and "be of such a Nature, that all who attend may join in them without being obliged to sing lies, or not sing at all". This was to confine his choice within what we have called Watts' "Common Ground", and to avoid the individualistic Wesleyan Hymns. It involved also some textual changes in the Wesleyan Hymns used; a freedom which Wesley bitterly resented.<sup>14</sup>

The actual use of Whitefield's hymn book by his own societies, and beyond them, was very large. Daniel Sedgwick has found thirty-six editions between 1753 and 1796.<sup>15</sup> Through it a number of Hymns now familiar, were given circulation. Its greatest permanent importance lay in its influence with the early Evangelical clergy of the Church of England, which made it the forerunner and even the model of the earlier group of hymnals in the Church of England.

## II

### IN LADY HUNTINDON'S CONNEXION

Whitefield did not found a new denomination, nor did Lady Huntingdon assume the leadership of his societies, which were destined to disintegration. Her aim was rather to improve the Church of England. She claimed the right to build private chapels, and to furnish them with preachers by appointing clergymen as her domestic chaplains; and by so doing built up gradually a "connexion" within the bounds of the Church. But the opening of her chapel in Spa Fields in 1779 was opposed. She was obliged to take shelter under the Toleration Act, to register her ministers as dissenting ministers, and her chapels as dissenting places of worship.<sup>16</sup> The parochial clergy among her chaplains (Romaine, Venn, Beveridge, and others) withdrew, and her work took shape as a new denomination, "Lady Huntingdon's Connexion".<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> See his preface to the *Methodist Collection*, of 1780.

<sup>15</sup> Tyerman's *Whitefield*, vol. ii, p. 294.

<sup>16</sup> See her *Life and Times*, vol. ii, pp. 309 ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 490.

Lady Huntingdon shared the Methodist feeling for Hymns; and in the meetings at her different houses she made Hymn singing familiar in those aristocratic circles into which Methodism itself made no effort to penetrate. From her social influence, her headship of her many chapels, and her intimate relations with church and dissent, she was especially well situated to aid the extension of Hymn singing; and she was an influence behind the movement to introduce Hymns into the Church of England. She concerned herself with the development of an Evangelical Hymnody, combining evangelical fervor with Calvinistic doctrine, primarily for her own chapels but having wider bearings.

Whether or not Lady Huntingdon contributed Hymns of her own composition is uncertain. As early as 1748 Doddridge, writing after preaching at her house, confesses to his wife:<sup>18</sup> "I have stolen a hymn, which I steadfastly believe to be written by good Lady Huntingdon." The opinion that she was a Hymn writer was shared by others, until it acquired the force of a tradition. Josiah Miller regarded it "as proved beyond doubt that she was the author of a few hymns of great excellence", and asserted that a known list of them was lost.<sup>19</sup> But such a claim is not supported by actual evidence.

Lady Huntingdon's part in the preparation of hymn books for her chapels is much more certain, though not wholly defined. It is doubtful if full materials for a history of the Hymnody of her Connexion now exist. The earliest hymn book now known is *A Collection of Hymns*. London. Printed for William Lee at Lewes, in Sussex, MDCCLXIV. It is compiled from James Allen's *Kendal Hymn Book* of 1754 and other sources, and has a Moravian rather than a Calvinistic flavor. "Society Hymns" and "Congregational

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<sup>18</sup> *Correspondence and Diary of Philip Doddridge*, vol. v, London, 1831, p. 74.

<sup>19</sup> *Singers and Songs of the Church*, London, 1869, p. 183. The only hymn he mentions as hers is the well-known "O when my righteous Judge shall come". For all really known of its history, see Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 854.



Hymns" are distinguished; and the preface is an earnest evangelistic appeal, which, according to Miller,<sup>20</sup> was written by the Countess herself. It was followed by a series of local hymn books which plainly had her approval and probably her supervision. The first was *The Collection of Hymns sung in the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapel, Bristol* (Bath, 1765, 3rd ed., 1770). The distinction between "Society" and "Congregational" Hymns was continued, but large use was here made of Watts, Charles Wesley, and current Calvinistic Hymn writers. Then came *A Collection of Hymns sung in the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapels in Sussex* (Edinburgh, n.d.; c. 1771). Then, next, *A Collection of Hymns sung in the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapels, Bath* (Bristol, c. 1774), in which the greater festivals are provided for, and there are fifty-one Hymns "for the Sacrament". There followed *The Collection of Psalms and Hymns, sung in the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapels, in Lincolnshire* (Gainsborough, 1778).

During these formative years Lady Huntingdon appears to have encouraged, or perhaps permitted, her ministers to make hymn books for their own use. Thomas Maxfield,<sup>21</sup> one of the first of Wesley's lay preachers, later in Anglican orders, had revolted from Methodism, and brought a considerable following over to the Calvinistic side. He printed *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns: extracted from various authors: with some never published before*. London: printed and sold at his chapel in Rope-maker's Alley, Little Moorfields, &c., MDCCLXVI (2nd ed., 1768; 3rd ed., 1778). He aimed in this to emphasize his newly adopted Calvinism. Its "Collection of Hymns" (250) and "Collections of Psalms" (150) are followed by a series of independently numbered groups "for the Nativity", for "New Year's Day", &c., evidently in imitation of Wesley's hymn tracts. The Revs. Herbert Jones and William Taylor were the preachers of the new Spa Fields Chapel whose erection

<sup>20</sup> *Singers and Songs*, p. 182.

<sup>21</sup> For Lady Huntingdon's relations with Maxfield, see her *Life and Times*, vol. i, pp. 33, 34.



occasioned Lady Huntingdon's withdrawal from the Church of England. They published for it in 1777 a *Collection* mostly compiled from the earlier books and from Whitefield's.<sup>22</sup>

But the time had come, in Lady Huntingdon's judgment, for a common hymn book for her now very numerous chapels.<sup>23</sup> It would promote uniformity, and the profits on its sale would help to support the work.<sup>24</sup> She personally undertook the selection of the Hymns, relying upon the assistance of her cousin, the Hon. and Rev. Walter Shirley.<sup>25</sup> The new book appeared as *A select Collection of Hymns to be universally sung in all the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapels. Collected by her Ladyship. London MDCCLXXX*. Its 298 Hymns represent in the main her choice of the Hymns already used in her chapels; and comprise a compact devotional presentation of the Calvinistic interpretation of the gospel of grace.<sup>26</sup> This collection stood the test of use, and the maintenance of it in its integrity, became a matter of loyalty to the Countess. Supplements were added in 1796 and 1808, after her death; and in view of numerous "surreptitious editions", more or less incorrect, the book was copyrighted by her Trustees.<sup>27</sup> Some independent supplements followed: that of Thomas Young (*The Beauties of Dr. Watts, &c.*) in 1819; the *Psalms and Hymns* of Joseph Sartain in 1842; the Appendix of "G. H." of Worcester in 1848; and Thomas Haweis' *Carmina Christo* in 1792 and in later reprints. In 1854 a new hymn book appeared by order of the Conference as *The Countess of Huntingdon's*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 306.

<sup>23</sup> There were over 80 at the date of her death.

<sup>24</sup> Preface of 1808.

<sup>25</sup> *Her Life and Times*, vol. ii, p. 201, note.

<sup>26</sup> Nos. 62-64, "The Joy of Faith", from Toplady's *Psalms and Hymns* of 1776:

"How happy are we,  
Our election who see,

And can venture our souls on Thy gracious decree"

is an anti-Wesleyan presentation of the grounds of evangelical joy, set forth in the Wesleyan rhythm.

<sup>27</sup> Preface of 1808.

*Connexion Hymn Book*, and this also has been supplemented by the now dwindling denomination (*The Connexion Hymn Book with Supplement*, 1865).

Lady Huntingdon was intimate with the Wesleys, the hostess of Zinzendorf, the friend of Watts and Doddridge, and the center of the group of Hymn writers developed on the Calvinistic side of the Revival, whether of Whitefield's following or her own, or remaining, like Toplady, in the established Church. Of her immediate circle, her cousin Walter Shirley contributed several Hymns to her *Collection*, and is still remembered for his "Sweet the moments rich in blessing", a recast of a hymn by James Allen, and appearing in the 1770 edition of the *Bristol* collection. A more copious writer was Thomas Haweis, whose Hymns appeared as *Carmina Christo; or Hymns to the Saviour* (Bath, 1792). This book of Haweis was regarded by many as a companion to her Ladyship's *Collection*, and was often bound up with it. From it come his familiar Hymns: "From the cross uplifted high", "Enthron'd on high, almighty Lord!", and "O Thou, from whom all goodness flows". Lady Huntingdon's concern for the Calvinistic Methodist movement in Wales brought her the friendship of William Williams, its chief Hymn writer. Williams had also printed in early life an attempt at Hymn writing in English, *Hosannah to the Son of David; or Hymns of Praise to God* (Bristol, 1759). It is claimed<sup>28</sup> that after seeing this book Lady Huntingdon induced him to prepare his *Gloria in Excelsis: or Hymns of Praise to God and the Lamb* (Carmarthen, 1772). It is certain that she included a number of Hymns from this book in her *Collection*, including "O'er those gloomy Hills of Darkness", a forerunner of the later Missionary Hymnody. His "Guide me, O Thou Great Jehovah" (first written in Welsh), was printed as a leaflet for use by the students of Lady Huntingdon's college and included in the *Collection* for Sussex (c. 1771); being thus started on its great career.

To develop and maintain an interest in Hymn singing,

<sup>28</sup> E. Morgan in Daniel Sedgwick's reprint of Williams' two publications as above, London, 1859, p. x.

on the Calvinistic as on the Methodist side of the Revival, demanded attention to its musical interests, if only to conquer the lethargy resulting from the degraded ideals and methods of Church of England Psalmody. Whitefield had no special gift for musical leadership, but Lady Huntingdon was interested in music and not satisfied merely to adopt the Wesleyan tune books. She knew most of the prominent musicians, including Handel, and included the words of the choruses of his *Messiah* in her *Collection*. This suggests her ambitions for her chapel services, but the withdrawal of these anthems from later editions indicates a conclusion that they were beyond the available musical resources. She engaged Giardini, the great violinist of her day, to compose some tunes for her chapels,<sup>29</sup> and secured others from Giordani, another Italian musician in London, with a very similar name. At her request, the younger Charles Wesley, whose musical career she had assisted, composed a tune for her favorite "In Christ my treasure's all contained".<sup>30</sup> Among her chaplains Thomas Haweis was the most musical, and composed tunes published after her death as *Original Music suited to the various metres*. The curious oblong shape assumed by the Connexion hymn books has not been explained, but may have been adopted as convenient for printing tunes to be bound up with them.

### III

#### SOME BY-STREAMS OF HYMNODY

Several by-streams of Hymnody can be conveniently traced from this point.

Benjamin Ingham, Lady Huntingdon's brother-in-law, had been the Wesleys' fellow-voyager to Georgia, and on his return became an evangelist. He turned over to the Moravians many societies he founded in Yorkshire and

<sup>29</sup> "Is it true that Lady Rockingham is turned Methodist? It will be a great acquisition to the sect to have their hymns set by Giardini." Horace Walpole, June 25, 1768, in Toynbee ed. of his *Letters*, vol. vii, Oxford, 1904, p. 205.

<sup>30</sup> Her *Life and Times*, vol. i, p. 230.

adjacent counties, but ultimately organized his followers as a new sect (Inghamites), making a sort of bishop of himself and ordaining his preachers. He published for them *A Collection of Hymns for Societies*. Leeds: printed by James Lister, 1748. Of its 88 Hymns 15 are from Watts, 8 from the Wesleys, 5 from Cennick: his own share is undetermined. Later a group of his helpers put forth *A Selection of Hymns for the use of those that seek, and those that have redemption in the blood of Christ*. Kendal: printed by Tho. Ashburner. MDCCLVII (2nd ed. with appx., 1761). James Allen and Christopher Batty were the largest contributors, and the flavor of the whole is Moravian. Much of its contents is doggerel.<sup>31</sup> A year later Ingham sent Batty and Allen northward to inquire into a movement inaugurated by John Glas. They returned as converts to the Glassite discipline and theology, and in the disputes and disruption that followed the Inghamite connexion was almost completely wrecked.

The Rev. John Glas had been deposed from the ministry of the Church of Scotland in 1728. He formed at Perth and elsewhere churches aiming to revive primitive discipline, with such ordinances as feet washing, the love feast and community of goods. In public worship they were Psalm singers, but for their fellowship meetings were composed *Christian Songs*, first appearing at Edinburgh, 1749. Its 38 songs increased in number with each new edition, the fifth (1775) having 95 songs and 11 "elegies". The eighth (1794) added a second part of 25 songs, enlarged to 114 in the fourteenth edition of 1872. An edition printed for the Edinburgh congregation in 1875 was little more than a reprint of the first part of the 1794 edition. Most of the songs were on themes already familiar, but many show more than the usual lyrical feeling and facility, and are

<sup>31</sup> The book is known as *The Kendal Hymn Book*. Allen's "Glory to God on high" came into wide use: his "While my Jesus I'm possessing" was the basis of "Sweet the moments rich in blessing". Christopher and William Batty afterwards printed *A Publication of Hymns, in two parts* (4th ed., Nottingham, 1803). Christopher's "Captain of thy enlisted host" had some use,

referred to current Scottish and English song-tunes. Beside its long popularity in Glassite congregations, now become few and small, the *Christian Songs* is of some interest as the source of Hymns in various collections.<sup>32</sup>

James Relly, a convert and afterward a preacher of Whitefield's, broke with him on doctrinal grounds, adopting very comfortable views of the union of the whole race with the Redeemer. His London society was probably the first attempt at organized Universalism, and kept its meeting house open till 1830.<sup>33</sup> He published at London in 1754 *Christian Hymns, Poems, and Spiritual Songs, sacred to the praise of God our Saviour*: the fifty-page poem and first book of Hymns by himself, the second by his brother John. It is easier to understand that these rude Hymns should support the charge of antinomianism brought against Relly, than that they should prove attractive in reading or worship. But they were reprinted in 1758, 1777, and 1791, and were associated with the Universalist movement in America. It was no doubt natural that each of these XVIIIth century sectarian movements should aim at having its own Hymnody.

As independent in spirit as these founders of sects, but in doctrine straitly Calvinistic, was Rowland Hill. At one in his views with Whitefield and Lady Huntingdon, an imitator of the former's methods and associated with the latter's work, he was as unwilling to become the colleague of either as unable to keep to the lines of the Church of England, of which he was an ordained clergyman. After an itinerant ministry of twelve years, he founded in London the famous Surrey Chapel. During a fifty years' ministry

<sup>32</sup> These can be traced through Julian's *Dict. of Hymnology*, art. "Scottish Hymnology", pp. 1030 f. Glas' son-in-law Robert Sandeman came to Boston in 1764, and established churches known as Sandemanian in several towns. For their history see *The New England Magazine*, April, 1896, art. "Sandemanians". A hymn book for their use appeared as *Christian Songs; written by Mr. John Glas, and others. The seventh edition Perth, printed: Providence, reprinted. MDCCCLXXXVII.*

<sup>33</sup> Richard Eddy, "The Universalists" in *American Church History Series*, vol. x, p. 349.



there, with some use of church formularies but without episcopal sanction, he exerted an influence in popularizing Hymn singing that was not unfelt in the Church itself. Hill had published at London in 1774 *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns, chiefly intended for the use of the poor*; and on opening Surrey Chapel in 1783 printed for it *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns, chiefly intended for public worship* (M. Pasham, 1783). He believed in the sacred use of popular melodies, and his organist, B. Jacob, coöperated with him, as appears from a *Collection of Hymn Tunes* (c. 1800). His hymn "When Jesus first, at Heav'n's command", set to "Rule Britannia", with which he stirred the hearts of the Volunteers during the Napoleonic wars, was long remembered.<sup>34</sup> An early Sunday school worker, Hill also popularized the ideal of a Children's Hymnody. Jacob prepared for him a tune book for Watts' *Divine and Moral Songs*, and Hill himself published *Divine Hymns attempted in easy language for the use of children* (and revised by Cowper: 1st ed., 1790); *A Collection of Hymns for children* (1808); and *Hymns for schools* (1832). As a Hymn writer, Hill was of Watts' school; and the prefaces of his various collections show that he contributed to them much more material than can now be identified. Of the Hymns that were new in one or other edition of the *Collection* of 1783, "Cast thy burden on the Lord", "We sing His love who once was slain", and "With heavenly power, O Lord, defend", are in common use to the present time.

#### IV

#### IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

##### I. INTRODUCTION OF HYMN SINGING BY THE EVANGELICALS

Both the Wesleys and Whitefield had proposed an evangelistic movement within the Church of England. It is difficult to conceive the reshaping of the Church that would have resulted, had they been allowed to fulfil their purpose.

<sup>34</sup> It is in William James, *Memoir of the Rev. Rowland Hill*, 3rd ed., London, 1845, p. 349.



In fact their gospel, their methods, and most of all their "enthusiasm", aroused general hostility, and closed the parish churches against the "New Light" and the new Song it inevitably awakened. There were nevertheless in the ranks of the clergy some minds open to evangelical impressions, and the actual effect of the Revival was to develop in the Church of England an Evangelical Party.

The early Evangelicals were Calvinists, in sympathy with Whitefield. They moved in Lady Huntingdon's circle, and were thus in direct contact with the new Hymnody. Some of them, like Beveridge of Everton, and Grimshaw of Haworth, had control of their own churches; but, in London especially, the Evangelicals were dependent upon Lady Huntingdon's house, the chapels she erected, the proprietary chapels others were allowed by the bishops to establish as the only form of church extension then practicable, and the endowed "lectureships" in various parish churches where the nomination of the lecturer was in the hands of the parishioners.<sup>35</sup> By means of these the opportunity was found to preach an evangelical gospel within the Church of England; and also to introduce Hymn singing into its services, without having to encounter the opposition inevitable in parish churches with long-established traditions in favor of Psalm singing.

The first of the Evangelical leaders was the excellent William Romaine, hustled from place to place in London before he could obtain a hearing. As it happened, he was a conscientious opponent of Hymn singing in general and of the Hymnody of the Revival in particular. He held the extreme Calvinistic position as to the exclusive use of inspired words in Praise, and was able to impose his views upon his own congregation. But he could not stay the rising tide of Hymn singing or make a breach between the Gospel and the Hymns of the Revival.

In Martin Madan the new Hymn singing found an effective sponsor. He and his friends had built the chapel in

<sup>35</sup> See G. R. Balleine, *A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England*, London, 1908, pp. 60-63.

connection with the Lock Hospital, near Hyde Park Corner, which introduced Evangelicalism into the West End. For its use he prepared and published *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns, extracted from various authors, and published by the Reverend Mr. Madan. London: printed by Henry Cock: and sold at the Lock Hospital, near Hyde Park, MDCCLX*. The book was plainly modelled on Whitefield's, and often uses his textual alterations. Its 170 Hymns were put together without arrangement, beyond a grouping of "Sacramental Hymns". There was nothing to distinguish it as being of the Church of England. Its choice of Hymns and bright and cheerful tone gave immediate satisfaction. For some six years it had the field to itself, reaching a second edition in 1763, a fourth in 1765, and a twelfth in 1787. Madan's knack in reconstructing the work of other hands made his book a permanent influence both for good and evil. A number of familiar Hymns still bear the marks of his editorial revision. Madan was a musician, and, to accompany his hymn book, printed *A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, never published before, 1769. Edited by M. Madan*.<sup>36</sup> It was reprinted both in England and America, and included 33 tunes from his own hand. These florid strains, then new, gained much vogue: "Helmsley" and "Huddersfield" still survive. The contempt expressed for these tunes by the modern Anglican school views them out of perspective. If they tickled the ear, it was with a view of arousing faculties that slept through the droned notes of parish Psalmody and of quickening the pace of the singing. And in this they were successful.

The humorous and sturdy John Berridge was as early on the field as Madan, but less effective. He published *A Collection of Divine Songs, designed chiefly for the Religious Societies of Churchmen in the neighbourhood of Everton, Bedfordshire* (1760). As may be inferred, Berridge was already a "Methodist", a field-preacher, and encourager of societies outside the parish churches. His

<sup>36</sup> Generally called "The Lock Collection".

collection is mostly Wesleyan, with some Hymns from Watts and some originals. With a change in doctrinal views Berridge became

"Not wholly satisfied with the collection [he] had published. The bells, indeed, had been chiefly cast in a celebrated Foundry, and in ringing were tunable enough, none more so, but a clear gospel tone was not found in them all. Human wisdom and strength, perfection and merit, give Sion's bells a Levitical twang, and drown the mellow tone of the gospel outright."<sup>87</sup>

With such convictions Berridge attempted to suppress his *Divine Songs*, buying and destroying every copy he could secure. During a six months' illness in the early seventies he composed a large number of Hymns. A few of these appeared in *The Gospel Magazine*, or elsewhere: most were laid aside till in 1785 he printed the whole body of them as *Sion's Songs, or Hymns: composed for the use of them that love and follow the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. By John Berridge, M.A., Vicar of Everton* (London). There were 342 Hymns of a homely type, without classification or even an index of first lines, but numbered as a hymn book. They were sung no doubt through the circuit of Berridge's preaching and societies, but made no marked impression on Evangelical Hymnody. New editions in 1805 and 1820 may have been as much designed for reading as for singing, as was J. C. Philpots' reprint of 1842.<sup>88</sup>

Seven years after Madan's *Collection* and Berridge's earlier hymn book, Richard Conyers, Vicar of Helmsley in Yorkshire, published *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns, from various authors: for the use of serious and devout Christians of every denomination* (London, 1767). This is the third of the Church of England hymnals, revealing by its title how broad was the sympathy of the early Evangelicals. The printing of a fifth edition at York in 1788 shows

<sup>87</sup> Preface to *Sion's Songs*, 1785.

<sup>88</sup> There is a good account of Berridge and his Hymns in Thos. Wright, *Augustus M. Toplady, &c.*, London, 1911, pp. 252-60. Gadsby's *Memoirs of Hymn-Writers and Compilers* is fuller, but inaccurate. Berridge's best remembered Hymns are: "Jesus, cast a look on me", "O happy saints, who dwell in light", and "Since Jesus freely did appear" (in altered forms).

that it helped to extend and provide for Hymn singing at the North. Conyers followed Madan's lead and appropriated fully two thirds of the contents of Madan's *Collection*. He was however happy in getting his friend Cowper interested in his book and in securing contributions from that poet. His second edition of 1772 will always have a place as the original source of "There is a fountain filled with blood", and "O for a closer walk with God".

The fourth of the Evangelical series appeared in 1775. That was also the year of Romaine's philippic against the new Hymnody, in which he reveals the situation as he saw it:

"The hymn-makers . . . have supplied us with a vast variety, collection upon collection, and in use too, new hymns starting up daily—appendix added to appendix—sung in many congregations, yea admired by very high professors to such a degree, that the psalms are become quite obsolete, and the singing of them is now almost as despicable among the modern religious, as it was some time ago among the prophane."<sup>39</sup>

Romaine, no doubt, is speaking not of the Church at large, but of the small group of churches affected by the movement which he represented at London, and De Courcy (whose recent appointment by Lord Dartmouth as Vicar of St. Alkmund's, Shrewsbury, caused a great stir) represented at the West. The latter's *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns, extracted from different authors . . . with a preface by the Reverend Mr. De Courcy* (Shrewsbury, 1775: 2nd ed., 1782), might seem a defiance of Romaine; for its distinction lay in the increased number of authors from whom it drew, adding for their accommodation "appendix to appendix" in its later editions.

But in the project of widening the area of the Evangelical Hymnody these later editions had been preceded, and probably influenced, by another hymn book of greater importance: *Psalms and Hymns for public and private worship. Collected (for the most part), and published, by Augustus Toplady, A.B., Vicar of Broad Hembury*. London: printed

<sup>39</sup> *An Essay on Psalmody*, London, 1775, pp. 104, 105.

for *E. and C. Dilly*, 1776. "It ought," Toplady said, "to be the *best* that has yet appeared, considering the great number of volumes (no fewer than between forty and fifty), which have, more or less, contributed to this Compilation."<sup>40</sup> In its 418 Hymns many Nonconformists, beside Watts, were represented, some of them new to Church of England hymn books. The book was occasioned by Toplady's removal to London, and was made for the evening congregation he had gathered in the Huguenot Chapel in Orange Street. Toplady regarded Hymn singing as an ordinance of God, "which He designs eminently to bless at this present day", and dismissed Romaine's protest against Hymns, of the year before, with contempt.<sup>41</sup>

Toplady's book was more pronouncedly Calvinistic than its predecessors. Such titles as "Original Sin", "Election Unchangeable", "Electing Grace", "Efficacious Grace", "Imputed Righteousness", "Preserving Grace", and "Assurance of Faith", show that the "Five Points" were carefully illustrated. In 1770, and the years following, the Calvinistic Controversy had reached its crisis, and none had contributed more to its heat and bitterness than Toplady. The separation of the two parties was final, and his book expressed his conviction<sup>42</sup> that the Church of England belonged on the Calvinistic side. In view of the extreme virulence of his attacks upon Wesley, Toplady's inclusion of a number of Wesleyan Hymns is noteworthy. Unlike most of his contemporaries, Toplady must have identified the authorship of these Hymns:<sup>43</sup> and it is to be added that

<sup>40</sup> Preface.

<sup>41</sup> "What absurdity is there, for which some well-meaning people have not contended?" *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> *Historic Proof of the doctrinal Calvinism of the Church of England* (1774).

<sup>43</sup> It is quite certain that the editor of Toplady's *Works* could not distinguish even Toplady's Hymns from those of the Wesleys. He prints "Christ whose glory fills the skies" and "Father, I want a thankful heart", as Toplady's (vol. vi [1794], pp. 420, 428). This act of Row's is the sole basis for the charge that Toplady appropriated as his own some of Charles Wesley's Hymns (David Creamer, *Methodist Hymnology*, N. Y., 1848, pp. 45-47). Row in his turn is accused of



he carefully altered the text of such as he used.<sup>44</sup> And here, for the first time in a hymn book, "Rock of Ages" and "Jesu, Lover of my soul", stand side by side.

Even more unexpected, in view of the history of the Evangelical Party, is the aesthetic motive in Toplady's book. "God," so the preface opens, "is the God of *Truth*, of *Holiness*, and of *Elegance*. Whoever, therefore, has the honor to compose, or to compile, anything that may constitute a part of his worship, should keep those three particulars, constantly, in view." If only these quaint words could have been taken to heart by the Evangelical Party, Toplady's hymn book would not only have put into circulation the greatest English Hymn, but would have prevented that perverse ignoring of the aesthetic side of human nature which proved so serious a barrier to the spread of evangelical religion, and palliated the excesses of the Oxford Revival in the century following.

Toplady did not live to reprint his hymn book. A second edition, somewhat modified, appeared in 1787, edited by his friend Walter Row. For this there continued a demand sufficient to keep it in print during the first quarter of the XIXth century.

Toplady included only six of his own Hymns<sup>45</sup> in his *Psalms and Hymns*, though he had been a Hymn writer from his youth.<sup>46</sup> The larger number of his Hymns appeared at Dublin in 1759 as *Poems on Sacred Subjects*, and portray the stress of thought and feeling that accompanied his transition to Calvinistic views. Long afterward he printed 26 Hymns in *The Gospel Magazine*,<sup>47</sup> and five

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printing some of Toplady's Hymns as his own (Gadsby, *Hymn Writers*, 4th ed., 1870, p. 157).

<sup>44</sup> E.g. in "Blow ye the trumpet, blow", the Wesleyan "The all-atoning Lamb" becomes "The sin-atoning Lamb".

<sup>45</sup> They were "Holy Ghost, dispel our sadness"; "A debtor to Mercy alone"; "Thou fountain of bliss"; "Rock of Ages"; "What tho' my frail eye-lids refuse"; and "How happy are we".

<sup>46</sup> See Wright, *Augustus M. Toplady*, p. 23.

<sup>47</sup> In 1771, 1772, 1774, 1776. "Rock of Ages" appeared in March, 1776. There is a complete list in Wright, p. 100. *The Gospel Maga-*



others are traceable. Toplady's Hymns have been widely appreciated and largely used. In *Denham's Selection* (Baptist), a considerable body of them is still available, but on the whole the number in actual use is constantly diminishing. His polemic Hymns have died a natural death: his deep and sincere Hymns of Christian experience invite a sympathetic reading rather than a congregational employment: and the conviction can hardly be resisted that his poetic inspiration and even metrical method were borrowed from Charles Wesley. His "Rock of Ages" isolates itself from the body of his work in its impressiveness and usefulness, and maintains its place at the head of English Hymns.

Mention must also be made of the *Select Psalms and Hymns* of David Simpson (Macclesfield, 1776; 2nd ed., 1780; new ed. 1795). It was made for the great congregation in the church built for him at Macclesfield after the rector of the parish church had thrown him bodily out of his pulpit; and is chiefly notable for the new Hymns it introduced and for the inclusion of anthems.

We thus have before us the first group of Church of England hymn books. Their dates of publication cover only seventeen years, and they have much in common. Generally entitled *Psalms and Hymns* they show no concern with the old metrical Psalmody. They are collections of Hymns, gradually expanding from the 170 of Madan to the 600 and over of Simpson. The Hymns are thrown together without arrangement and without indications of their authorship, and there are no musical notes or suggestions. From the prefaces we may infer that Madan stood alone among the editors in giving attention to the musical side. In the body of Hymns also, there was much that was common to the books. Watts, and to a less degree the Wesleys and Joseph Hart, furnished a nucleus and a considerable share of their contents. Watts' followers, especially Doddridge and the new Baptist Hymn writers, were drawn upon; and also the group more or less affiliated with *Whitezine*, the source of so many evangelical Hymns, ran from 1766 to 1772, and was revived in 1774. Toplady became its editor at the end of 1775.

field or using *The Gospel Magazine* as their medium of publication. Of the editors themselves, only Toplady and Berridge contributed Hymns of note, but Newton and Cowper offered their first-fruits.

The group of hymn books shows a very determined purpose to introduce Hymn singing and great activity in providing materials for it. They do not of course represent the Church but a small party within it. The new movement was an intrusion of the outside Revival forces. The Hymnody showed its revival origin and character in the evangelistic note, in its concern with experimental religion, and its warmth amid chilling surroundings; and once within the dikes, revealed it yet further by its obliviousness of principles and practices distinguishing church from dissent, and its subordination of the sacramental side of religion. Inspired as it was by a Calvinistic movement the Hymnody was inevitably consistent with Calvinism. This showed itself negatively in its omissions or alterations of Methodist Songs. Positively it was in general content to express a deep sense of sin, an entire dependence on God for deliverance and the discovery of his method in Scripture. With Toplady came more of the terminology and specific statements of Calvinism. It is from this adhesion to the principles of the Revival rather than of the Church of England that these early hymn books derive their larger import; for they helped to establish the foundations of an Evangelical Hymnody not only within but beyond the Church of England.

## 2. "OLNEY HYMNS": THE EVANGELICAL MANUAL

In line with the earlier Evangelical hymn books, but an event important enough to stand alone, came the publication in 1779 by John Newton, then curate of Olney, of 280 of his own Hymns and 68 of his friend William Cowper, under the title of *Olney Hymns, in three Books. Book I. On select texts of Scripture. Book II. On occasional subjects. Book III. On the progress and changes of the spirit-*

ual life (London: W. Oliver, 1779). Both men had contributed Hymns to *The Gospel Magazine*, and to one or other of the Evangelical hymn books. Newton had appended eighteen pages of "Hymns, &c." to his *Twenty-Six Letters on Religious Subjects* of 1774.<sup>48</sup> As early as 1771 Newton proposed to Cowper that they jointly compose a volume of Hymns, partly from "a desire of promoting the faith and comfort of sincere Christians", partly "as a monument to perpetuate the remembrance of an intimate and endeared friendship".<sup>49</sup> Before the work had proceeded far, Cowper was prostrated by brain trouble, and Newton ultimately completed it alone.

The Hymns were conceived in the very spirit of their time and surroundings. From them we could reconstruct the actual working of the Revival in an English parish under Evangelical leadership; and they may be regarded as bringing the Hymnody of the Evangelical Revival to a close. In them the offices of the Prayer Book yield to the sermon, the Church Year is superseded by the civil, the sacraments are subordinated, and the Revival method expresses itself in the evangelical theology, the strenuous activity in the sphere of individual emotion, the didactic element employed to instruct and edify the simple believer, and the expository dealings with Scripture. Many of the Hymns had been actually a part of the revival services at Olney, being written for special occasions, or to be sung after some special appeal from the pulpit, or to be made the theme of an exposition by Newton in the prayer meetings held at the Great House.<sup>50</sup>

In the making of these Hymns Cowper, as long as he was able, wrought with the feeling and craftsmanship of a true poet, and clothed them with the tender charm of his own spirit. Newton poured into them the pulsing life of an intense and commanding personality, and proved himself

<sup>48</sup> Including Cowper's "God moves in a mysterious way", and his own "While with ceaseless course" and "I asked the Lord".

<sup>49</sup> Preface, p. vi.

<sup>50</sup> E.g. (Diary, Dec. 6, 1772) "Expounded my new hymn at the Great House on the subject of a burdened sinner". Josiah Bull, *John Newton*, London, n.d., p. 183.

capable at his best of producing great Hymns. When his inspiration failed it was like him to have "done his best" to fill the spaces left by his friend's silence. And even when most prosaic and homiletical Newton's work has the quality of being alive and the gift of appealing to other minds. Indeed the *Olney Hymns* are to be taken as a whole,<sup>51</sup> and measured by the unity of the impression they created. Their appeal was immediate, and to an unusual degree permanent. Even in our own day, Faber, the Roman Catholic Hymn writer, speaks of their "acting like a spell upon him for years, strong enough to be for long a counter-influence to very grave convictions, and even now to come back from time to time unbidden into the mind".<sup>52</sup>

This influence of *Olney Hymns*, securing for it so many reprintings<sup>53</sup> and so wide a circulation, was much more than that of a hymn book. In form the book was available for congregational use (being arranged precisely as Watts' *Hymns* had been), though some of its materials were not suitable. To what extent it was so employed is not now discoverable. But it furnished many with their favorite songs and devotional reading. It played a part among Evangelicals akin to that of Wesley's *Collection* of the following year among Methodists. It became a people's manual of evangelical doctrine and an instrument of spiritual discipline.

But the place of its Hymns in Hymnody itself is a very considerable one. They were inevitably recognized as a very notable accession to the store available for Evangelical use. They began at once to furnish materials for the hymn books. The proportion of them that became familiar and endeared to various denominations is surprisingly large. In

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<sup>51</sup> The best study of the *Olney Hymns* is Montgomery's "Introductory Essay", written for Collins' Glasgow ed., and often reprinted. In his contentment with Cowper's poetic grace, Montgomery perhaps overlooks something of Newton's bluff virility.

<sup>52</sup> Frederick Wm. Faber, *Hymns*, preface to ed. of 1861.

<sup>53</sup> 3rd ed., 1783; 9th, 1810. It was kept in print during most, if not all, of the XIXth century. The numerous American reprints seem to have begun in New York in 1787 (Evans' *American Bibliography*, vol. vii, item 20588).

the Church of England a number won a place from which even the reconstructions of the Oxford Revival have been unable to dislodge them.<sup>54</sup> At the lowest estimate six must be accorded a classical position: three of Cowper's—"Hark my soul! it is the Lord", "Oh! for a closer walk with God", "God moves in a mysterious way", and three of Newton's—"Come, my soul, thy suit prepare", "Glorious things of thee are spoken", "How sweet the Name of Jesus sounds".

The Hymns exercised also a decided influence upon the Evangelical ideal of the Hymn, not so much in the way of modifying as in the way of confirming and deepening it. Like Charles Wesley's it was an influence favoring the use of Hymns as an expression of the most private experience, and like his again, Newton's method was autobiographical. If indeed he intended all his Hymns for public use, he was careless of Whitefield's dictum that Congregational Hymns should confine themselves to sentiments common to the singers. This inward-looking of "the old blasphemer" begat intense remorse and measureless self-contempt, and made the Hymn of Experience an instrument of self-reproach. In the same way Cowper's dreadful depression, and Newton's sympathy with him, tinged the *Olney Hymns* at times with the shadow of the cloud hiding the divine Presence. It can hardly be denied that the indiscriminate use of such materials by congregations introduced an element of unreality and morbidness into Evangelical Hymnody, from which it was slow to recover. On the other hand, Newton's perfect faith in the salvation offered, his glorying in its efficacy, his wonder at its grace, the tender note of his love for the Saviour, the exultation of his triumphant faith;—all these things entered into the warp and woof of the Evangelical Hymnody, and Newton's close relating of personal experience with the truths and narratives of Scripture became preëminently the accepted method of that Hymnody.

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<sup>54</sup> In the latest edition of *Hymns ancient and modern* there are six by Newton and seven by Cowper.



Any who were brought up in some one of the Evangelical churches, in the period after Watts' domination had passed, is likely to recall a number of Newton's Hymns, a few of Cowper's also, as inevitably associated with the gospel there proclaimed and the type of religion there practised.

### 3. MOVEMENTS TO INTRODUCE HYMNS IN THE MAIN BODY OF THE CHURCH

*Olney Hymns* marks a point of transition in Church of England Hymnody. It was the last of a group of books bringing the Evangelical Hymnody into the Church without remoulding or even rearranging it into accommodation with the Prayer Book system of parochial worship. It was to be followed by a group of books, still Evangelical, that aimed to adapt the new Hymnody to the methods and manners of the Church.

The point is thus a convenient one at which to turn from the small Evangelical Party to the main body of the Church where Psalm singing prevailed and the Prayer Book system was unimpaired by revival influences outside, in order to discover what progress had been made there in introducing the singing of Hymns.

In this main body there was no unity of feeling or purpose in regard to the use of Hymns in public worship.

(1) There were first the stand-fasts, who through the entire XVIIIth century maintained the position Bishop Beveridge had taken at its beginning, that the good estate of the Church was bound up with the continued use of the Sternhold and Hopkins version of the Psalms, and that the traditional method of singing them need not be disturbed. Outside of the Church Watts had successfully attacked the divine prescription of the Psalms, and the Hymns of himself and his school had largely displaced them in Non-conformist use. At the borders of the Church the Wesleys had disregarded Psalmody and instituted a popular Hymnody of feeling and experience. All these changes tended to strengthen the position of the metrical Psalm in the minds of the conservative and stiff churchmen, and led them to con-



stitute themselves special guardians of that metrical Psalm, originally the creation and the badge of Geneva. Psalmody had come to seem to them a characteristic part of the Prayer Book system and the Hymns a menace. The more widely Watts' Hymns spread, and the more fervid the Methodist Song grew, the more obvious it became that the Hymn was stamped with the hall-mark of dissent and, even worse, of "enthusiasm". The prejudice against Hymns in churchly circles grew very strong. Dr. Samuel Johnson plumed himself for having let it yield to a charitable impulse; writing of a poor girl he saw at Communion, "I gave her, privately, half a crown, though I saw Hart's Hymns in her hand".<sup>55</sup>

(2) There were the less extreme conservatives, just as anxious to maintain the old Psalmody, but who lamented the prevailing apathy fallen on the ordinance, and saw the force of the demand for Hymns suitable for holy days and occasions. Bishop Gibson had suggested the remedy in his *Directions given to the clergy* (1724) on his translation to London. He urged the great need of a better and heartier musical performance and laid out a "Course of Singing Psalms" covering the Sundays, Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday, and some Church occasions. The expedient was a good one and somewhat widely adopted; but it was also quickly appropriated by the advocates of Hymns. In 1734 "R. W." printed at Nottingham *The excellent use of Psalmody, with a course of Singing Psalms for half a year*, adding an appendix of twenty-eight Hymns for the festivals, the Communion, morning and evening, midnight, and funerals. Still later the Rivingtons reissued *The excellent use*, bound up with their tractate of (12) *Divine Hymns* and *Hymns taken from the Supplement to Tate and Brady's Psalms*.

In this group of conservatives Romaine belonged, as has appeared, and although foremost in adopting the theology of the Revival, was more strenuous than most in resisting

<sup>55</sup> Quoted in Boyd Carpenter, *Popular History of the Church of England*, p. 478.

its Hymnody. His *A Collection out of the Book of Psalms, suited to every Sunday in the year* (London, 1775), shows by its title that he followed Bishop Gibson's lead, but he went a step farther by adding notes on the evangelical interpretation of various Psalms. To us who look back it seems very plain that the addition of evangelical annotations to the "Singing Psalms" could not stay the intrusion of a pronouncedly evangelical Hymnody, any more than the appropriation of Psalms to Christian festivals could illustrate their full significance.

(3) There were those, and perhaps Romaine had no quarrel with them, who were fully persuaded that Hymns had a real function in the Christian life, and favored their use provided only they were not introduced into the stated church services. As early as 1727 there appeared *A Collection of Psalms, and Divine Hymns, suited to the great festivals of the Church, for morning and evening, and other occasions* (London; J. Downing, 1727). It was in all respects a hymn book, with the Hymns numbered for use, and included "a Table of Psalms on practical subjects, which may be of use to Parish-Clarks".<sup>56</sup> Notwithstanding this suggestive reference (on the title-page) to parish clerks, the preface opens with the declaration: "I have no thought of proposing the Use of any Part of this *Collection* in the Publick Service." Of hymn books, however, as of greater ventures, it is true that man proposes and Providence disposes. And it is not unlikely that some Parish clerks who consulted the Table were tempted to line out the hymns. The few Psalms in this book were from Denham and Patrick. The Hymns constituting the majority of its forty-nine pieces "were collected from several Books, some of which are not easy to be met with".<sup>57</sup> The little book was published cheaply for general distribution and for binding

<sup>56</sup> This apparently unnoticed book preceded by ten years John Wesley's *Charlestown Collection*, which Dr. Julian calls "the first hymn-book compiled for use in the Church of England". *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 332.

<sup>57</sup> P. 8.

up with others of like size in a series printed by Downing "for promoting Christian knowledge and Practice". The practical effect of this book and others like it was undoubtedly to familiarize Hymn singing.

(4) There was also in the main body of the Church a constantly growing party of progress in Psalmody, whose plans for its improvement included some use of Hymns;<sup>58</sup> and whose efforts it will be convenient to distinguish as two parallel movements.

One of these was plainly suggested by the new and hearty Hymn singing of the Revival, and took shape in the cultivation of music in several of the charitable institutions of London. To furnish suitable tunes especially, a series of books was published in which "Psalms, Hymns and Anthems" were printed with equal freedom. Such an use of Hymns is partly explained by the 'Charity Hymns' and those written to grace special occasions in these institutions. In the case of the Lock Hospital, the musical movement coincided with the Evangelical. Its chapel was used not only by its inmates, but by a strongly contrasting West End Evangelical congregation who rented sittings.<sup>59</sup> The hymn book and tune book prepared for their common use by Martin Madan have already been noted.

At the "Asylum or House of Refuge for Female Orphans" at Westminster Bridge, the improvement of its music under William Riley took the form of antagonism to the tunes made popular by the Revival. His *Parochial Music Corrected* (1762) dwelt especially on the light fuguing tunes of the "Methodists", which were creeping into the Church through the "Lectureships" in parish churches that gave Evangelicals their opportunity. Nevertheless here as elsewhere the use of Hymns followed musical improvement. Riley's *Psalms, and Hymns for the Chapel of the Asylum or House of Refuge for Female Orphans* (n.d.; after 1762) included the words of the Hymns.<sup>60</sup> For the

<sup>58</sup> But not particularly the Hymns of the Evangelical movement.

<sup>59</sup> Balleine, *The Evangelical Party*, p. 61.

<sup>60</sup> Rev. Jacob Duché, the refugee rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia,

Foundling Hospital a series of books was published, beginning with *Psalms, Hymns and Anthems used in the Chapel of the Hospital for the Maintenance and Education of Exposed and Deserted Young Children* (1774). It contained sixteen Hymns, including some of Addison's, and which by 1796 had increased to twenty-two. One of the Foundling Hymns, often appearing as a leaflet pasted in at the end of the 1796 edition, was our familiar "Praise the Lord! ye heavens adore Him". For the Magdalen Hospital five separate collections were printed, beginning with *The Hymns Anthems and Tunes with the Ode used at the Magdalen Chapel* (n.d.). This contains twenty-seven Hymns by Ken, Addison, Doddridge and others, including a version of *Dies Irae*. This was followed by *A Second Collection of Psalms and Hymns*;<sup>61</sup> *A Third*, and *A Fourth Collection of Hymns for the use of the Magdalen Chapel*. These were afterward republished as a single volume.

The singing of the inmates became a marked feature of the life of these institutions and something like a feature of London life itself; drawing the general public to the chapel services and to the united service held annually in one of the churches and later in St. Paul's. "Charity children" were, moreover, commonly distributed among the parish churches, to act as a choir, taking their Hymns with them. In this way they did much toward making Hymn singing familiar and popular; just as in our own day the Sunday schools, coming into the churches with their liturgical services, have so widely affected the ordinary worship of non-liturgical churches.

became chaplain of the Asylum in 1782 (C. Higham in *New Church Magazine*, London, Sept. 1896, p. 461). He is said to have edited the editions of 1785 and 1789 (W. T. Brooke in *Morning Light*, Nov. 16, 1895); and is credited with the authorship of three of the Asylum Hymns (*New Ch. Maga. ut supra*, pp. 464, 465). Duché preached Swedenborgian views, and one of these Hymns appears in New Church hymnals up to the present day (*Hymns for use of the New Church*, London, 1881, No. 575: "Come, love Divine! thy power impart").

<sup>61</sup> There is suggestiveness in the advertisement it carries of its publisher's shop: "Where also may be had, Six favourite Hymns used at the Tabernacles of the Rev. Mess. *Whitefield* and *Wesley*".

(5) The other section of the progressive element was less free in its ways. It was more or less interested in musical improvement: the desired improvement in the subject matter of Psalmody it had found by introducing Tate & Brady's *New Version* (1696) into its parish churches. It was not interested in the Revival Hymnody nor in the hymn books of the Evangelicals, but favored supplementing the Psalms with a few Hymns for festivals and other church occasions. We have already described<sup>62</sup> the early embodiment of such desire in the *Supplement to the New Version*, first printed in 1700, with its paraphrases of canticles and six other Hymns increased to nine in 1708.

In 1741 John Arnold of Great Warley, Essex, printed a setting of the Psalms, in the Playford fashion, as *The Compleat Psalmist. In four books*; the fourth being "A Select Number of Divine Hymns on various occasions", mostly the festivals and Good Friday. He included one each from Ken and Watts and two from the Tate and Brady *Supplement*, and sixteen less familiar. Most of the Hymns were *de trop*, and were dropped out of later editions, but one, "Jesus Christ is ris'n to-day" (partly taken, like its stirring tune, from the earlier *Lyra Davidica* of 1708), ultimately attached itself to the *New Version*.

The *Supplement* itself was kept in print, and copies of Tate and Brady bearing dates up to the middle of the century occur with the *Supplement* bound in. Its Hymns were not therefore lost to sight; but the usual surviving copies of like dates have no Hymns. We may infer that many parishes using Tate and Brady grew disposed to rest satisfied with the good qualities of the Psalms themselves.

During the last quarter of the century there came some change in the situation. A disposition showed itself in what we may call Tate and Brady circles to make more use of the Hymns in the *Supplement*, and to facilitate such use by attaching them to the printed Psalters. The Rivingtons issued in 1779 a small tractate entitled *Hymns taken from*

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<sup>62</sup> See chap. ii.



*the Supplement to Tate and Brady's Psalter*, and an undated copy of the same has turned up which is thought to be earlier.<sup>63</sup> This tractate was intended to be inserted or bound in current copies of Tate and Brady. In a London trade edition of Tate and Brady of 1780, four Hymns selected from the *Supplement* appear printed at the end of the Psalms, following the Gloria Patri, with separate pagination, and headed simply as HYMNS. They are:

Come, Holy Ghost, Creator, come.  
While Shepherds watch'd their flocks by Night.  
Since Christ, our Passover, is slain.  
Christ from the Dead is rais'd, and made.

In a Cambridge Press edition of 1782 a new selection of Hymns is printed at the end of the Psalms, reflecting something of the current Hymnody, and including only one hymn from the *Supplement*. They are:

High let us swell our tuneful notes (Doddridge).  
Hark! the herald angels sing (Wesley).  
Christ from the dead is rais'd, and made (Tate and Brady).  
My God, and is thy table spread (Doddridge).  
Awake, my soul, and with the sun (Ken).

In London trade editions of 1790 and 1792 all the above Hymns are printed, except "While Shepherds watch'd". In another London trade edition of 1790 are the four Hymns of 1780, with Ken's Morning and Evening Hymns on printed slips pasted in. The latter, and the Easter Hymn, "Jesus Christ is ris'n to-day", also appear on printed slips pasted in University Press editions. Thenceforward it became the rule to print a group of Hymns after the Psalms as though a constituent part of the Psalter, and this continued so long as the *New Version* was kept in print. By the beginning of the XIXth century the Clarendon Press had its distinctive selection consisting of fifteen of the sixteen Hymns<sup>64</sup> and metrical canticles of the *Supplement* of 1700, with "O Lord, turn not Thy face away" from the Appendix to the *Old Version*, and the four Hymns from the

<sup>63</sup> Catalogue of Charles Higham & Son, London, No. 503, October, 1911, item 1950.

<sup>64</sup> The Commandments, "God spake these words", being omitted.



Cambridge edition of 1782. The Cambridge Press selection differed by including all sixteen of the *Supplement* Hymns, and by adding (from about 1816) "Jesus Christ is ris'n to-day" and Ken's Evening Hymn; but some copies from the Cambridge Press had a smaller selection.

These facts and dates are fitted to correct some current impressions of the Hymns appended to Tate and Brady's *New Version*. It has been a sort of fashion to regard them as something negligible in the history of Church of England Hymnody. It is assumed that they owe their place to the mere whim of the printer, and that their consequent introduction into worship was quite fortuitous and even humorous. This familiar assumption appears to find its only support in a surmise of Charles B. Pearson, who, in an essay on "Hymns and Hymn-writers", says:

"The introduction of hymns for Christian seasons in particular services is due, probably, to 'the stationers' before the Revolution, and to the University printers in modern times, more particularly to one of the latter about half a century back, who, being a Dissenter, thought fit to fill up the blank leaves at the end of the Prayer-book with hymns suggested by himself,—a liberty to which, apparently, no objection was raised by the authorities of the Church at that day, and thus 'factum valet'."<sup>65</sup>

What the actual evidence seems to show is that the Hymns were added neither by dissenters nor by Evangelicals, but by the Prayer Book party itself, and that they were printed in the Psalters because they were already being used in the services, and with a view of avoiding the necessity of inserting the little booklets and printed slips containing them. Indeed their significance seems to lie in their direct connection with the original *Supplement* of 1700, as showing how the continuous demand of the churchly yet progressive element for a few liturgical Hymns to supplement the Psalms kept open a channel of its own digging for the introduction of Hymn singing into the Church of England.

It thus appears that in its own way and within its defined limits the Prayer Book party co-operated with the freer movements that were making a Hymn singing Church. Its

<sup>65</sup> *Oxford Essays*, 1858.

special contribution was in getting its Hymns printed in the Psalters as though a part of the authorized Psalmody. From this position they were never dislodged. And as the Psalters were ordinarily bound up with the Prayer Books, the Hymns became for all practical purposes a part of the Prayer Books themselves, even those distributed by the "S. P. C. K." Whatever the legal niceties as to authorization may have been, henceforward the opponents of Hymn singing—and they were many and bitter—were handicapped by the presence of the Hymns within the sacred covers of the Prayer Book itself.

#### 4. THE PERIOD OF COMPROMISE: "PSALMS AND HYMNS" IN PARISH CHURCHES

We now take up the Hymnody and hymn book making of the Evangelical Party from the date of *Olney Hymns* (1779). It was, as has been said, the last of the earlier series that had little to distinguish them from the hymn books of dissent; and the conservatives were justified if they regarded it as a somewhat extreme example of that type. Just how the Evangelical leaders regarded it is difficult to estimate. Most of them probably welcomed it for its Hymns; none certainly as the model for a church hymn book.<sup>66</sup> The series of hymn books immediately following might seem to indicate a reaction from the unchurchly tendencies of *Olney Hymns*. But their altered complexion in reality reflected the change passing over the Evangelical movement itself. Like Methodism it had begun within the Church but apart from the parochial order and worship. Its beginnings had been extra-parochial, and even to the end of the XVIIIth century its strength lay in proprietary chapels, endowed lectureships and other centres of influence that had a measure of freedom. But with the waning of the century the movement began to draw established parishes

<sup>66</sup> Its publication probably seems more notable to us who look back than it did to the Evangelical leaders of the time. Richard Cecil, in his authorized *Memoir of the Rev. John Newton* (ed. H. T. Warren, Finsbury, n.d., p. 26), makes only incidental mention of it.

within its control and to influence parishes not to be accounted Evangelical. The Evangelicals themselves moderated their views, sought a closer conformity to the order and manners of their Church, and became disposed to affiliate more with the moderate element of the Prayer Book party.

These changes favored first of all the extension of Hymn singing into the regular services of parish churches, and consequently a compromise with the accustomed order of Psalm singing in those churches, by which both Psalms and Hymns should have equal recognition and use in parochial "Psalmody". To provide for this the new series of Evangelical hymn books became not only in name but in reality collections of "Psalms and Hymns".

From *Olney Hymns* we pass at once to *Psalms and Hymns, collected by William Bromley Cadogan* (1st ed., 1785: 4th, 1803), rector at Chelsea and also at Reading. It contains a complete metrical Psalter, with 150 Hymns chosen and arranged in the earlier manner. There is a similar provision of Psalms in the *Psalms and Hymns* of John Venn (London, 1785) and in Basil Woodd's book of 1794, hereafter to be described. And, it may be added, Church of England hymn books continued to be "Psalms and Hymns" down to the Oxford Revival. These Evangelical leaders took as much pains as Romaine himself to provide Psalm versions that should maintain or revive an interest in Psalm Singing. One of them indeed, Richard Cecil, followed Romaine for a while. His *Psalms of David* (1785) is confined to canonical Psalms, the versions drawn from the best available sources, including Addison and Milton. Not until 1806 did he add *Hymns for the principal festivals of the Church of England*. His collection had reached a thirty-second edition by 1840. Thomas Robinson, in the hymn book made for his church at Leicester (before 1790) included nothing from either the *Old* or *New Version* of the Psalms. He may have been moved by associations of them with his unwelcomed coming to Leicester,

"when the choir bellowed the most unsuitable psalms instead of those which he instructed the clerk to announce".<sup>67</sup>

The conjunction of Psalms and Hymns in parish worship did something to bring more closely together the two main agencies of Hymn singing—the Evangelicals, who cared most for Hymns, and the moderate Prayer Book element, which wished to retain Psalmody supplemented by Hymns for holy days and occasions. It remained for Basil Woodd, an Evangelical leader of the second generation,—not a rector but preacher and indeed proprietor of Bentinck Chapel, Marylebone,—to take a further step, and bring the two parties to something very like the unity of a common ground in Hymnody. His project was to adapt Hymnody to the Prayer Book system itself. He conceived the ideal of a hymn book that should be "the companion to the Book of Common Prayer".

The book in which Woodd embodied his ideal appeared at London in 1794 as *The Psalms of David, and other portions of the Sacred Scriptures, arranged according to the order of the Church of England, for every Sunday in the year; also for the Saints' Days, Holy Communion, and other services*. The promise of the title was scrupulously fulfilled. Under the heading of each Sunday and holy day of the Christian year a metrical Psalm was designated to serve as the Introit provided for in the rubrics of the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. Then followed one or more Hymns, adapted to the Epistle or Gospel or subject of the day. The whole was followed by selections of Hymns for Communion, Baptism and other church offices and occasions, and a few for general use in public worship. The selection of Hymns, from all the materials then available, was good, and in later editions some originals were added.

In a word this interesting book stamped Hymnody with the mark of the Church rather than of a party. It pointed the way of making Hymns a constituent part of the liturgical order rather than a formless body of song intruded from without under the Revival impulse. It was Woodd in 1794,

<sup>67</sup> Balleine, *The Evangelical Party*, p. 121.

and not Heber in 1826, who worked out the ideal of "A Hymnal Companion to the Prayer Book", and thus anticipated the form in which ultimately Hymnody came to be accepted by the straitest school of churchmanship as an enrichment of the service.

This is not to say that Woodd set up a model at once followed by succeeding editors. On the contrary the editor next succeeding was that uncompromising Evangelical, Charles Simeon of Cambridge, who trained so many evangelical preachers and by deed of trust constituted Evangelicalism as a distinct denomination within the bounds of the Church. Simeon sought every occasion to vindicate his "regard for the Liturgy and Services of our Church".<sup>68</sup> His real concern was for the sermon and for a Hymnody that would illustrate its doctrine and enforce its appeals. He published in 1795 *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns*. It contained a much abridged selection of Psalms. Otherwise the book affiliates in contents and manner with the earlier Evangelical group. Its Hymns follow the subject of discourse, its "Time and Seasons" are Morning, Evening, Spring, Summer, Harvest, and so forth. Even Easter and Christmas appear only in the table of contents, and in this way: "*Christmas-Day. See Incarnation*". As more than a hundred scattered parishes came to be included in "The Simeon Trust", the use of his *Collection* was widespread and long continued.<sup>69</sup> It thus kept alive in these and doubtless other parishes a distinctively Evangelical Hymnody, in no way differing from that of dissenting bodies holding similar convictions.

The general trend was, however, otherwise. The influence of Woodd's more churchly conception, even in his own party appears, for example, in Biddulph's *Selection of Hymns accommodated to the service of the Church of England* (2nd ed., 1804); in Cecil's similar *Appendix* of 1806, already referred to; and in John Venn's *Appendix* of the

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Wm. Carus, *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Charles Simeon*, chap. xii, 3rd ed., London, 1848, pp. 210 ff.

<sup>69</sup> The 13th edition appeared in 1837.



same year *Containing Hymns for the principal festivals of the Church of England; and for family and private use*. Venn's book was decidedly evangelical under its churchly frame work and its transparent expedient of "private" Hymns. He represented the famous "Chapham sect", the new missionary society and *The Christian Observer*; and his inexpensive little book introduced Hymns into many of the "country congregations" for whose use it was designed. In extending Hymn singing beyond the Evangelical pale, Woodd's book played a greater part.

But, in general, those concerned for the integrity of the Prayer Book system were not yet converted to the latter day Hymnody. They saw with dismay Hymn singing spreading from parish to parish, and new hymn books appearing on every side. Of these, during the first two decades of the XIXth century there were not less than fifty.<sup>70</sup> A number of them were designed for use in a single parish. Of those of more general type, the most important, not already mentioned, were: J. Fawcett's *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns from various Authors* (Carlisle, 1802; 4th ed., 1811); J. Kempthorne's *Select portions of Psalms and Hymns from various authors* (London, 1810); Thos. Cotterill's *A Selection of Psalms and Hymns for public and private use* (Newcastle, 1810; 8th ed., Sheffield, 1819); and G. T. Noel's *A Selection of Psalms and Hymns from the New Version of the Church of England and others* (London, c. 1811).<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> The fullest, though incomplete, list is in Julian's *Dictionary*, pp. 333, 334.

<sup>71</sup> The hymn books of this period introduced a few new Hymn writers. To Kempthorne's book Joseph Dacre Carlyle contributed his Hymns including "Lord, when we bend before Thy throne". Cotterill wrote many for the various editions of his *Selection*, and they attained considerable use. To its 9th edition, John Cawood contributed, among others, "Hark! what mean those holy voices?" and "Almighty God, Thy word is cast". The most voluminous writer was William Hurn, who, while vicar of Debenham, published *Psalms and Hymns, the greater part original* (Ipswich, 1813), containing more than 250 of his own. Their number was greatly increased in his *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (Woodbridge, 1824), after he had seceded from the church. During this



It seemed to the conservatives that a purely voluntary system of worship was intruding into, if not threatening to supplant, the Prayer Book system. "The importance which, in many places, attaches to the Hymn Book," said Bishop Marsh, "is equal, if not superior, to the importance ascribed to the Prayer Book."<sup>72</sup> The objections urged against the Hymn Book were mainly two: It may tend to introduce false doctrines or to undermine Church doctrine in the minds of those using it; or it may (as in some instances already) offend against reverence in worship by the "flippancy and vulgarity" of its contents.

There were, doubtless, elements of disorder, and even of danger, in this unchecked zeal for hymnal making. But the opposition took deeper ground and aimed at the total suppression of Hymn singing itself as introduced and practised without even the shadow of authority. Woodd, in his preface, had cited the uniformity statute of Edward VI, authorizing the use of "any Psalm or Prayer taken out of the Bible at any due time", and Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions of 1559, permitting "an hymn or such-like song" "in the beginning or in the end of common prayer". He claimed also that the prose Hymns and *Veni Creator* in the Prayer Book involved an authorization of the singing of Hymns. Some of his successors endeavored to strengthen their cause by securing permission to dedicate their collections to some friendly prelate.<sup>73</sup>

Some bishops, on the other hand, were so confident that nothing but the *Old* or *New Version* of the Psalms was authorized for use that they warmly protested against, or even

period also Sir Robert Grant was publishing Hymns in *The Christian Observer* (1806-1815) and Reginald Heber printed his in the same periodical (1811-1816).

<sup>72</sup> *A Charge delivered at the primary visitation of Herbert, Lord Bishop of Peterborough, in July 1820; with an Appendix, containing some remarks on the modern custom of singing in our churches unauthorized Psalms and Hymns.* London, 1820.

<sup>73</sup> The editors of *Psalms and Hymns, selected for the Churches of Buckden* (1815) dedicate it by permission to Bishop Tomline (of Lincoln); and in the 2nd ed. (1820) state it to be "sanctioned by the authority of that distinguished prelate".

prohibited, the employment of Hymns within their dioceses. We find Simeon in 1814 writing to an Evangelical friend to "put aside Hymns" rather than to continue his unseemly contest with his bishop.<sup>74</sup> The Bishop of Exeter is said to have prohibited the use of Ken's Morning and Evening Hymns within his diocese.<sup>75</sup>

The opposition was brought to a head by the publication in 1819 of an eighth and enlarged edition of Thomas Cotterill's *A Selection of Psalms and Hymns for public and private use, adapted to the services of the Church of England*. Sheffield: printed for the Editor, by J. Montgomery at the Iris-office. 1819: and his attempt to enforce its use upon his congregation at St. Paul's, Sheffield. This caused much disturbance in the congregation, of which some outside opponents of Hymns took advantage; and suit was brought against Cotterill in the Consistory Court of the Archbishop of York. The Chancellor decided that Hymn singing was an irregularity without due authority, but he assumed that none could wish to attack a practice that had become so general and was so edifying. He refused costs and postponed sentence upon Cotterill for his irregularity, virtually reducing the issue before him to a question of the merits of Cotterill's book, which "certainly contained a great many excellent Psalms and Hymns to which there could be no reasonable objection".<sup>76</sup> He intimated that the interests of religion required a compromise of the suit, and offered the services of the Archbishop as mediator. In the end the compromise was effected. Cotterill's book was withdrawn, and a new one,<sup>77</sup> smaller and less markedly evangelical, was prepared under the eye of Archbishop Harcourt and at his expense, and the Sheffield church was supplied with a sufficiency of copies, each bear-

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<sup>74</sup> *Memoirs*, ed. cited, p. 272.

<sup>75</sup> *The Christian Observer*, July 1822, p. 435, n.

<sup>76</sup> For the legal proceedings, see *An Inquiry into historical facts relative to parochial Psalmody* [by J. Gray], York, 1821, pp. 46 ff.

<sup>77</sup> *A Selection of Psalms and Hymns for public worship*, London, T. Cadell, 1820 (29th ed., 1840).

ing the inscription: "The gift of his Grace the Lord Archbishop of York".<sup>78</sup>

These curious proceedings, from which no appeal was taken, did not change the irregular status of Hymnody, but they certainly discouraged further legal contests. In 1822 H. J. Todd, of the York diocese, published a pamphlet,<sup>79</sup> urging the sole authority of the old Psalmody; in 1820 the Bishop of Peterborough charged against the liberty exercised by parishes in introducing hymn books,<sup>80</sup> in which he was followed by the Bishop of Killaloe, Ireland, in 1821.<sup>81</sup> But in general the ground was regarded as cleared of practical obstructions, and the making of new hymn books proceeded apace in the years following the York settlement.

In these books the influence of Cotterill's, in spite of its suppression, is very marked. Though somewhat on earlier lines, it was a fresh selection, at which the poet Montgomery assisted. And it had the distinction of introducing into church use some fifty of his Hymns, thus contributing to the permanent enrichment of Hymnody. In the interests, real or supposed, of the "good taste" at which Cotterill aimed, Montgomery also altered freely the texts of his predecessors. As Cotterill's *Selection* served as a source book for numerous succeeding compilers, it happened that these tinkered texts frequently remained the standard till very recent times, in some cases to the present day.

We may now regard Hymn singing in the Church of England as having passed the stage of intrusion and even of toleration, and to have reached that of substantial recognition. It had not superseded the singing of metrical Psalms but had reduced the Psalter to a selection of Psalms, with which Hymns were incorporated on equal footing. As to its prevalence we have the testimony of the editors of the Buckden *Selection*: "There are, perhaps, not many large

<sup>78</sup> *An Inquiry*, &c., pp. 74, 75.

<sup>79</sup> *Observations upon the metrical version of the Psalms*, London, F. C. & J. Rivington, 1822.

<sup>80</sup> See note no. 72.

<sup>81</sup> Fully quoted in Todd, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 ff.

congregations in our national Church, where some Psalms, different from the old and new versions, and some Hymns, founded upon the history and doctrines of the Gospel, have not been admitted." More authoritative was the assumption of the Chancellor at York that no one having the interests of religion at heart would wish to disturb "the prevalent usage", "so edifying and acceptable to congregations".

This change had found its opportunity here, as elsewhere, in the decadence and indifference into which the old Psalmody had fallen. It had been brought about, first by the desire of musical improvement and for the recognition of church festivals and fasts, but mainly by the "enthusiasm" of the Evangelical Revival, and the persistence of the Evangelical Party within the Church.<sup>82</sup> The practice of Hymn singing had passed beyond the limits of party, but had not as yet brought itself into close relation with the Prayer Book system. The supply of hymn books was copious, and their very diversity had already suggested the need (not yet filled) of a collection of Hymns compiled and issued under competent authority.<sup>83</sup> The Hymnody itself bore the marks (never yet obliterated) of its Evangelical origin in its general non-sectarian character, its dealings with individual experience, and its mingling together of the work of churchman and dissenter.

*Philadelphia.*

LOUIS F. BENSON.

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<sup>82</sup> The valuable introduction to *Hymns Ancient and Modern, Historical Edition*, 1909, appears to the present writer to ignore the main agency of the Evangelicals within the Church in introducing Hymnody, and to transfer it to the musical development of London Charities.

<sup>83</sup> See Todd, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 29.

# REVIEWS OF RECENT LITERATURE

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## PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE

*An Introduction to Philosophy.* By ORLIN OTTMAN FLETCHER, Professor of Philosophy in Furman University. New York: The Macmillan Company. 8vo; pp. xxii, 420. 1913.

It is often said that the present age is too practical to have any taste for metaphysical inquiry. Such, however, can hardly be the case in view of the number and the quality of the works on metaphysics and closely related subjects that are being published. Of this trend in modern thought a striking illustration is the fact that the Macmillan Company have issued very recently no fewer than five such volumes, *The World We Live In*, by George Stuart Fullerton, *A First Book in Metaphysics*, by Walter Marvin, *A Brief History of Modern Philosophy*, by Harold Höffding, *The New Realism*, by six prominent professors, and *The Persistent Problems of Philosophy*, by Mary Whiton Calkins, all of which, taken together, would seem to indicate that the age is becoming so truly practical as to appreciate the unique importance of the foundations of its intellectual life. And now a sixth, the book under review, is added to the above list.

Nor is it the least as well as the last of the works referred to. Like them, it is characterized by fullness of information, by definiteness of aim, and by clearness and felicity of style. In these respects, if not in all others, the new metaphysics marks a great advance on the old. Like Professor Marvin, Professor Fletcher has "a philosophical doctrine, and that doctrine determines the treatment given the questions and opinions which are considered". His "point of view is that of Objective Idealism". He holds that appearances are reality as we see it. He conceives of reality in its epistemological relation as "being with meaning"; in its ontological relation as "active being". In a word, he regards reality as "cognizable and immanently active". He also distinguishes between a "totality" and a "true whole". A totality, being an aggregation, lacks the oneness which is essential to a unitary whole. In dealing with the categories, he follows a "pedagogical order"; but he appreciates the reason which may be advanced in favor of presenting them in the logical order of their development. The reviewer finds himself in substantial agreement with Professor Fletcher. Indeed, the latter's "Objective Idealism" does not in the least suggest Schelling to him; but on the contrary, it does strongly remind him of what he learned from his old preceptor, Dr. McCosh, under the name of "Natural Realism". Not the least of the merits of Professor Fletcher's book is its outspoken theism. Its closing words are: "The acceptance of the reality of the one God, personal and supreme, a God with whom



man may have communion, is a demand of the religious consciousness. Hence, we retain as an article of philosophic faith, our belief that God, the Perfect Personality, the Absolute Individual, is, and is the ground of being and activity. 'In Him we live and move and have our being.'"

There are only two points at which the reviewer cares to raise a question:

1. Is Professor Fletcher correct in his understanding of the Absolute of Hegel? He denies that it is pure thought and would make it include willing and feeling. We are inclined to the belief, however, that Weber is right when he says that, "according to Hegel, the Absolute is idea, thought, reason, and *nothing but that*" (Hist. of Phil., p. 534).

2. While the ablest chapters in the book seem to us to be those on "Human Freedom," we can not agree with Professor Fletcher in what we take to be his doctrine of the self-determination of the will. We recognize in it a great improvement on the old doctrine of the indifference of the will, but we feel that it still falls short of the truth. The fact is that while the choices of the will confirm character, the character determines the will in the sense that it reveals itself in it. In a word, character and will, as also our author claims, must not be separated. The will is the expression of the character: the character is the soul of the will. The *person*, as consisting of character and will, determines himself. We do not form or "organize" our character out of the self: the will or self is the character expressing itself in choice. We are free because we are not determined from outside but are determined by ourselves.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

*The Philosophy of the Future.* By S. S. HEBBERD, Author of "Philosophy of History", "The Secret of Christianity", "The Science of Thought", etc. New York: Maspeth Publishing House, 77 Milton Street, Borough of Queens. 1911. Pp. 251.

Mr. Hebbard's volume is an antidote to Prof. K. Pearson's *Grammar of Science*, published simultaneously (Pt. I., 3rd ed.). *The Philosophy of the Future*, which has cost the author "more than half a century of toil", is a stout defense of the principle of Causation both against the philosophical scientists who, following Hume, would reduce cause to customary sequence among our sense-impressions, and against the subordination by many writers on logic of the notion of cause to that of reason or ground. To cancel causality is to efface all distinction between truth and falsehood. *Scientia est cognoscere causas*. "The sole essential function of all thinking is to discriminate between cause and effect." "There is no known form of thought which is not ultimately reducible into an assertion of cause and effect." From the vantage ground of this theorem, with its corollary that "a cause cannot be known except through its effects, or an effect apart from its cause", Mr. Hebbard trains his guns upon the systems of Hume, Kant, Hegel, Mill, and other logical writers. He reviews successively Space, Time, the Concept, Judgment, and finally In-



duction, defined as "the discovery of causal processes by means of physical and mental experiment", in the attempt to show that all categories are but species and derivative forms under the supreme and all-embracing category of causality.

The logical discussion is followed by chapters on God, Freedom and the Soul, in which the metaphysical application of his principles is made. The causal concept is utilized to strengthen the ontological argument. "The conception of a sufficient cause, fully understood, is identical with the theistic conception of God." This conception of a sufficient cause involves unity, infinitude, freedom and love (if an infinite being acts at all, or causes any changes, it must be for the sake of others). The fact again that the causal nexus is "a reality imperceptible to the senses" discredits materialism and positivism, and is used in demonstration of the existence and immortality of the soul.

Mr. Hebbard attempts no exact definition of cause, but this, as he says in the appendix, is because he regards it as incapable of ordinary definition, "there being no wider genus under which it can be ranged as a species" (p. 214). He omits also any discussion of the origin of the causal concept. While frequently inveighing against innate ideas and Kantian apriorities, and rejecting impartially "the Scottish philosophy of 'common sense', with its short and easy method of 'intuitions', the French and English empiricism, the Teutonic illusionism" (p. 95), he yet declares: "Man does come into the world equipped, not with intuitions, but with the means of attaining to an assured knowledge of the world as the workmanship of an infinite and benevolent Being. For he comes endowed with the prerogative of thought; but to think is to affirm causality" (p. 157). What is this but intuitionism?

Mr. Hebbard's work, it will be seen, is a discussion at once ambitious and concise of the deepest problems of logic and metaphysics. His book, in our judgment, is well worth the attention of the philosophical reader, who cannot but enjoy its incisive style, its trenchant criticisms, its wide outlook upon philosophic thought, and its original insights into its problems.

Lincoln University, Pa.

WM. HALLOCK JOHNSON.

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## APOLOGETICAL THEOLOGY

*Comparative Religion.* By F. B. JEVONS, Litt.D., Professor of Philosophy in the University of Durham. Cambridge: at the University Press. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1913. 12mo.; pp. vii, 154.

One of the *Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature*, this little book does not aim to be more than a primer of Comparative Religion; but, as might be supposed from the author's previous works in this general department, *An Introduction to the History of Religion*, most favorably reviewed in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, Vol. ix, No. 33, and *An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Religion*, as

favorably noticed in this Review, Vol. vii, No. 2, it is a most admirable primer. This little book is characterized by all the excellences which we remarked in the author's earlier and larger works—the same command of facts, the same fairness in interpreting them, the same skill in inductive reasoning, the same caution and reserve in the statement of conclusions; and yet, as we observed in our review of Dr. Jevon's second book, "we think that we detect, as would not be unlikely in this latest effort, an even firmer grasp of principles and an even more confident mastery of his position".

It is not a primer of comparative theology, like Dr. Kellogg's *Hand-book of Comparative Religion*, that he has given us. He deals not only with the doctrinal resemblances and differences of the religions, but takes up such expressions of religion as Magic, Sacrifice, etc. While he does not, as Dr. Kellogg did, write as an ardent Christian missionary, his conclusions point toward the uniqueness and supernaturalness of the Christian religion. In a recent lecture by Louis Henry Jordan, B.D., on *Comparative Religion, Its Origin and Outlook*, he has been criticized for "busying himself with the problems of the anthropologist" and for "introducing a purely speculative element". We cannot concur in this criticism. To us he would seem to enter Anthropology only when its problems emerge in Comparative Religion; and his conclusions impress us, not as speculation, but as just and necessary inferences from facts.

Princeton

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

*Comparative Religion. Its Origin and Outlook.* A Lecture by LOUIS HENRY JORDAN, B.D., Member of the Institut Ethnographique International, Paris, Author of 'Comparative Religion: Its Genesis and Growth', etc., etc. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press: London, New York, Toronto, Melbourne and Bombay. 1913. Pamph., pp. 16. 1s. net.

This lecture has been called forth by the publication within the brief space of ten days in England of two books bearing "the simple title '*Comparative Religion*'". These books are *Comparative Religion* by Frank B. Jevons (*The Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature*) Cambridge, 1913, and *Comparative Religion* by J. Estlin Carpenter (*The Home University Library of Modern Knowledge*). London, 1913. These "primers", for such they aim to be and are, Mr. Jordan criticizes on the ground that "they are found continually busying themselves with the problems of the anthropologist; nor are they blameless of the charge that they sometimes indulge a fondness for sudden excursions into the realm of purely conjectural criticism". At the same time Mr. Jordan holds that "both of these 'primers' are noteworthy in an eminent degree, and are really far more important than either their size or price serves to indicate". He thinks that they are doomed to be superseded; but he believes that it is not too much to say that "the results they are destined to effect will give them a permanent place in the early literature of the subject."

This lecture is characterized by Mr. Jordan's well known knowledge of the literature of Comparative Religion, his zeal to define its boundaries more exactly and sharply than seems to us always possible, and his tendency to deny, as we maintain unwarrantably, the exclusiveness of Christianity.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

*Mysticism.* A Study in the Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness. By EVELYN UNDERHILL, Author of "The Grey World", "The Column of Dust", etc. London: Methuen and Co. Ltd. [1911.] 8vo; pp. xv, 600. Bibliography: Index.

*The Mystic Way.* A Psychological Study of Christian Origins. By EVELYN UNDERHILL, Author of "Mysticism", etc. London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. 1913. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. Crown 8vo; pp. xiv, 395. Bibliography: Index.

*Immanence.* A Book of Verses. By EVELYN UNDERHILL. London: J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. [1912.] 12mo; pp. x, 83.

*The Miracles of Our Lady Saint Mary*, brought out of divers tongues and newly set forth in English. By EVELYN UNDERHILL. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1906. 12mo; xxviii, 308. Short Bibliography. Plate.

The primary object of this notice is to give some account of Miss Underhill's *Mystic Way*, in which she formally presents her views of the origin and nature of Christianity. We have associated with this book in the heading, however, the titles of such others of Miss Underhill's publications that have come into our hands as are serious in form, in order that *The Mystic Way* may be seen in its setting. We should not like to suggest that Miss Underhill's novels by which she has been previously known—*The Grey World*, 1904, *The Lost Word*, 1907, *The Column of Dust*, 1909—were written without serious purpose or are without significance as disclosures of her mind and of the direction of her studies. On the contrary they already reveal to us the intensity of her engagement with what is loosely called the mystical aspects of life, and no doubt embody, in an imaginative form, much of what she would consider symbolically at least wholesome instruction for our sense-preoccupied world. In *The Grey World* we are told how the neurotic son of a London tailor, dying in a hospital, catches a glimpse, as he passes through it to his next incarnation, of that "grey world" which lies behind this, and lived in consequence throughout his next earthly life with the curtain which hides that world from our view worn rather thin. It is a Dean's son, who is the hero of *The Lost Word*; and we are shown in it how, brought into intimate contact from his earliest years with the symbolism and mysterious romance of a great cathedral, he found his way, despite the insistent pull of earthly passion, into dimly apprehended relations with an unseen permanent existence where he held communion with the great artistic spirits of the past. In *The Column of Dust* we learn how a bookseller's clerk in London summons a spirit, who,

however, refusing to be used by her, uses her rather, and how out of it all sacrificial love comes to its rights. In all three alike Miss Underhill seeks her inspiration in praeter-natural themes, and manifests a profound preoccupation with the supernatural, not to say the morbid, phases of life. From these novels alone we might assure ourselves that here is a writer who is ready to insist seriously that there are more things, not in heaven merely but here on earth, than are dreamed of in our starveling five-senses philosophy: and indeed that the most real things which surround us are not those which we touch with our clumsy fingers and gaze at with our dull eyes and taste with our gross tongues. It is not a matter of surprise that such a writer should come forward at length as a serious eulogist of mysticism.

Among Miss Underhill's serious writings we need not delay long over her little volume of verses. In the greater number of the pieces included in it an attempt is made to give expression to mystical moods. These do not seem to us the most successful. Strange to say Miss Underhill's muse does not appear to move easily in such moods. We quickly gain the impression also that verse is not her most happy medium of expression. There are some lofty conceptions; there is much fine language; here and there a well-turned phrase meets us; we can smile at a conceit like that embodied in "The Idol"; we can respond to the stirring counsel of "Memento, Homo"; we can thrill with the grim lesson of "The Backward Glance". But the volume leaves us cold—and uninstructed. Little more need be said of the collection of *The Miracles of Our Lady Saint Mary*. For all that appears on the surface, a purely literary motive might have presided over its production. Here is a by-way of mediaeval literature but little trodden by recent feet. Not merely students but amateurs "of mediaeval manners and Christian mythology" may find interest in exploring it. Certainly Miss Underhill has done her work well and made this sufficiently dreary series of folk-stories and hagiographs as attractive as possible. There is a sentence near the close of the brief but competent Introduction, however, which may suggest that she may have had a deeper than a merely literary purpose in seeking to give new life to the Mary-legends. Speaking of the mediaeval attitude towards the Virgin she remarks upon "the simple and familiar friendship, mystical adoration, and unfailing trust" which were given to "Goddess Mother and ours" by those who, as she phrases it, "were in every sense her children". And then she adds that it is "the aim of this book", "to drag back", not only the "literary expression" of this sentiment "from the shadowland to which it has retreated", but the "sentiment" itself. May we infer that Miss Underhill has had, then, a directly religious motive in seeking to revive the knowledge of the Mary-legends?

It is not altogether easy to make quite sure of Miss Underhill's precise religious standpoint. On the basis of her two solid works on Mysticism alone—which embrace her professed contribution to religious discussion—we might readily think of her as a Modernist



Romanist. We do not suppose we do her injustice at any rate in imagining her in congenial society when in the company of, say, Friedrich von Hügel or George Tyrrell. Many of their points of view she certainly holds in common with them; some of their suggestions she works out in detail; and, if we mistake not, the ultimate issue of her religious thought is very much theirs—perhaps, we may add, in somewhat extreme expression. The whole argument of the work which is more especially in our mind as we write—*The Mystic Way*—might be represented as the detailed explication of a tendency apparent in von Hügel (it is no doubt present in more or less strength in all Mystical writers) to which Söderblom calls sharp attention—the tendency, we mean, to think of Jesus as only a high-point in the religious development of humanity, which attracts the eye of men and to which we must also aspire, while there is withheld from Him all truly creative effects on the religious life of the world. Perhaps it is not right to hold George Tyrrell too closely to everything he wrote in even the last years of his singularly ununified career. But he seems to have seriously meant it when in the early days of the last year of his life he declared: "Houtin and Loisy are right, the Christianity of the future will consist of mysticism and charity, and possibly the Eucharist in its primitive form as the outward bond: I desire no better". Perhaps even Mysticism no doubt seemed to him something less than solid ground: "Mystics think they touch the divine," he explains in one of his moods of scepticism, "when they have only blurred the human form with a cloud of words." The precise effect of Miss Underhill's discussion of *The Mystic Way*, in any event, is to place her in the same category with Houtin and Loisy and Tyrrell as here expounded. She reduces Christianity to simple Mysticism.

The background of the volume called *The Mystic Way* is provided by Miss Underhill's *magnum opus*, the elaborate volume on *Mysticism*. This volume is brilliantly written. All the resources of a trained literary art are expended upon it, and its pages are not only illuminated with numerous well-chosen extracts from the Mystical writers who are thus permitted to tell in their own quaint and often singularly impressive language exactly what they are, but are also gemmed with vivid phrases caught from the Mystics and used by Miss Underhill in her own composition with exquisite skill. Above all it is written with a verve and enthusiasm which impart to it an *élan* (as Miss Underhill would call it, in deference to Bergson) that sweeps the reader well-nigh off his feet. It is divided into two parts, called respectively "The Mystic Fact" and "The Mystic Way", in the former of which an attempt is made to tell what Mysticism is in contrast with other tendencies, while in the latter the several steps and stages of the Mystical process are described in detail. The effect is that we have what Mysticism is elaborately explained to us twice over, and one would think it must be the reader's own fault if he rises from the book without a clear conception of exactly what it is that Miss Underhill at least would have him think Mysticism to be. It is an indication of the fluidity of the notion—perhaps also of the almost incurable ambiguities

of the current usages of the term—that one requires, even so, to pause and consider before he is quite sure of the precise limits of the sense in which Miss Underhill employs it.

Formal definition of the term begins for us already in the Preface. "Broadly speaking," we read there (p. x), "I understand it to be the expression of the innate tendency of the human spirit towards complete harmony with the transcendental order; whatever be the theological formula under which that order is understood." This is "broadly speaking" indeed. By the final clause, Mysticism is at once separated from all "positive religions" whatever; and (as we are immediately told) it is made matter of indifference to the experience of "mystic union" in which it "attains its end", whether that union is conceived to be with "the God of Christianity, the World-Soul of Pantheism, the Absolute of Philosophy" (p. x). "Attempts to limit mystical truth—the direct apprehension of the Divine Substance—to the formulae of any one religion," we are accordingly told later (p. 115), "are as futile as attempts to identify a precious metal with the die which converts it into current coin." It is upon the little word "innate", however, that the hinge of the definition turns. Mysticism is "the expression of the *innate* tendency of the human spirit towards complete harmony with the transcendental order". In other words it is "natural" religion; and it is therefore that it is quite independent of all possible conceptions of that "only Reality", which is here called "the transcendental order". Let philosophers call it "the Absolute"; let theologians call it "God"; think of it as Personal Spirit, think of it as the impersonal ground of Being, think of it how you choose: the human spirit moves by its own intrinsic gravitation towards it, and this gravitation towards it is Mysticism. Obviously "Mysticism" is used here as but a name for the inherent native religiosity of the human spirit.

Subsequent formal definitions advance us but little beyond this. Thus, for example, when at a later point Miss Underhill is again (as in the Preface) animadverting upon the loosenesses of the current usages of the term, she emerges with this crisp assertion (p. 86): "Mysticism, in its pure form, is the science of ultimates, the science of union with the Absolute, and nothing else." She does indeed go on to declare that "the mystic is the person who attains to that union, not the person who talks about it"; that it is not a matter of "knowing about" but "Being" (she spells it with a big B); but she seems already to have closed that question by defining it as "science"—for "science" is "knowing about" *ex vi verbi*. When, among sciences, she declares Mysticism to be this particular science, namely, "the science of ultimates", she seems to identify it with what we are accustomed to call Metaphysics; but that she can scarcely mean this is manifest from the parallel phrase which she immediately adjoins: "the science of union with the Absolute"—for certainly Metaphysics is not that. What is apparently meant to be asserted is that Mysticism is the systematized knowledge of "union with the Absolute"; or, since the emphasis is thrown on the practical side, perhaps we may say (as we speak of



"pugilistic science") that Mysticism is expertness, acquired skill in attaining "union with the Absolute".

Accordingly as this discussion approaches its end Miss Underhill reformulates her definitions thus (p. 97): "Mysticism, then, is not an opinion; it is not a philosophy. It has nothing in common with the pursuit of occult knowledge. It is not merely the power of contemplating Eternity. It is the name of that organic process which involves the perfect consummation of the Love of God: the achievement here and now of the immortal heritage of man. Or, if you like it better—for this means exactly the same thing—it is the art of establishing his conscious relation with the Absolute." What was formerly declared to be a "science" has now become explicitly an "art": but in varying the term we do not escape from the thing—behind the "art" the "science" necessarily lies. Miss Underhill says the Mystic is the man who has attained to union with the Absolute. Let us be more modest and say that the Mystic is the man who professes, or supposes himself, to have attained to union with the Absolute. Then Mysticism surely may be fairly described as that congeries of notions which are presupposed or implicated in this profession; or, if we choose, in the practice of the art by which this end is supposed to be attained. It would seem, therefore, that it must inevitably embrace a doctrine of the Absolute; a doctrine of the relation of the human spirit to this Absolute; a doctrine of the possibility of the human spirit attaining "union with the Absolute"; a doctrine of the nature of this "union with the Absolute" which the human spirit may attain. Here certainly there is "an opinion", or rather a body of opinions; and certainly there is here "a philosophy", and, we are afraid we shall have to add, what, despite the vagueness which may be allowed to cling to the several notions involved, looks very much like that specific philosophy which we know as Pantheism. It is notorious that in the history of religious thought the types which it has been commonly agreed to speak of as Mystical have ordinarily been associated with Pantheistic or at least Pantheising conceptions: the very language of Mysticism has been dictated to it by Pantheism, and it is therefore in any event difficult for the Mystic to express himself without at least seeming to declare himself a Pantheist. Miss Underhill has reduced this Pantheising implication to a minimum in her formal definitions. Therefore in the one now before us she avoids even declaring that Mysticism is the "science of union with the Absolute". Instead, she says that it is the process by which man enters into the conscious enjoyment of the love of God—by which, she truly says, he "achieves" "his immortal heritage": and in the alternative clause she explains that what Mysticism seeks is the establishment of "conscious relation with the Absolute". Obviously these are carefully chosen phrases. If we were to abide by the breadth of their suggestion Mysticism would be what indeed Miss Underhill calls it (p. x), just "the science or art of the Spiritual life". Every "other-worldly-minded" man would be a Mystic.

Clearly Mysticism however is not defined by merely declaring that it is the "art of establishing conscious relation with the Absolute".

Its peculiarity resides rather in the nature of the process by which it seeks this end and the nature of the condition in which, when it is achieved, it finds this end accomplished. There are other views proposed to us of what "the immortal heritage of man" consists in, and of how it may be achieved. There is, to go no further, Christianity, which thinks that it can point the way to the enjoyment of "the perfect consummation of the Love of God", and finds the Way in Christ. Mysticism is not sufficiently defined by simply declaring that it differs from all these by—"doing the trick". Many have essayed to penetrate to "the Reality behind the veil", says Miss Underhill (p. 4): "but if we may trust the report of the mystics—and their reports are given with a strange accent of certainty and good faith—they have succeeded where all these others have failed, in establishing immediate communication between the spirit of man, entangled as they declare among material things, and that 'only Reality', that immaterial and final Being, which some philosophers call the Absolute, and most theologians call God." It is a great claim—if only it can be substantiated. Its substantiation is, however, the last thing the Mystic seems to think of. "We have seen," writes Wilhelm Fresenius (*Mystik und Geschichte*, 1912, p. 82) "how the Mystic has never posited the question of the substantiation of religion, has never made inquiry into its moral right, into its truth, but his soul has been filled with the search after the experience of the Eternal. And when he has found this Eternal, when he has felt this Imperishable, then he is content, the fact of this feeling establishes for him its right. Why does the question not now spring forth of the 'How' of this feeling, the investigation into whether this feeling may not rest on illusion,—that is, in the forum of the moral judgment?" So soon, however, as the substantiation of its great claims is seriously attempted Mysticism, it is evident, must emerge from vague phrases and define itself sharply in its method and aim. It is unfortunate, then, that in her definitions Miss Underhill falls into the very common habit of using to describe it terms so wide that they provide no differentiation at all. How persistently this bad method is followed by writers on the subject may be illustrated by the definition given by O. C. Quick in two recent articles in the *Journal for Theological Studies*. "Mysticism," he says, "is the claim made by the soul to the apprehension of a wider reality in no sense mediated by the data of sense-perception" (vol. xiv, p. 2; cf. xiii, p. 164). If that were an adequate definition, Mysticism would be merely spiritual apprehension: and all who believe in the accessibility of spirit to spirit would be Mystics. Even William James' well known definition (*Varieties*, p. 508) is better—for at least it is discriminating. He finds the "nucleus of agreement" among all Mystics in the feeling of the subject that his higher self is "conterminous and continuous with a More of the same quality which is operative in the universe outside of him and which he can keep in working touch with and in a fashion get on board of and save himself when all his lower being has gone to pieces in the wreck". Clearly on this conception, Mysticism is fundamentally Pantheistic and therefore Quick

criticises it. It is not inclusive, he says, of Christian Mysticism through which there runs a profound feeling of "infinite otherness" from God; and he goes on to insist that Mysticism embraces every and "any direct consciousness of God's presence and nature" (*JthS.* xiii, 192 p. 172). By thus broadening the skirts of Mysticism to enclose all "sense" of God, we may of course rid it of its Pantheistic stamp; but the question is whether we are not merely merging it thus into a wider category. What it concerns us to take note of here, however, is merely that this is Miss Underhill's method. To her the typical form of Mysticism is Christian Mysticism, as manifested especially in the great Mediaeval Saints. She is therefore careful to define it so as to make it include them; and she then proceeds to expound it from them as its purest examples.\* This seems to stand the whole matter upon its head. It is not in virtue of their Christianity that the Christian Mystics are Mystics: Miss Underhill, as we have seen, herself allows that their Mysticism is quite independent of their Christianity. We might better say that it is in despite of their Christianity; and that therefore Mysticism in them is modified by their Christianity just so far as their thought and practice is determined by their Christianity. They are Mystics not by virtue of what they have in common with other Christians, but by virtue with what they have in common with other Mystics,—with Al Ghazzali, say, for instance, or with 'Attar and Sadi and Jelalu'd Din, or to sum it all up in one word, say, with Plotinus. And what they have in common with these other Mystics is precisely Pantheising tendencies of thought. Miss Underhill would have us believe that Mysticism appears always in the train of great periods of abounding culture; it is the consummate flower of human culture (p. 541). We think it truer to say that it appears always in the train of periods of the dominance of a Pantheising philosophy: it is the effect in the religious mind of prevalent Pantheising thought.

Miss Underhill allows (though this is far from all that she allows) that the Mystics at least speak the language of Plotinus (p. 544). So true is this, that even she, though set upon cleansing the idea of Mysticism from the smudge of Pantheism (e.g., pp. 38, 119), yet herself speaks the language of Plotinus, if indeed she stops with that. Though she may on occasion therefor insist that in his achieved "union with the Absolute", the Mystic does not lose his identity in

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\* Perhaps G. Siedel, *Die Mystik Taulers nebst eine Erörterung über der Begriff der Mystik*, 1911, has fallen into the same trap. "Tauler's Mysticism," he tells us, "is the assurance, obtained through a particular discipline, that the Divine Subject has entered into the human subject, expressed philosophically by means of the Thomist-scholastic doctrine of the vision of the essence of God, experienced in a Christian way as the assumption of man into the intertrinitarian life of God." Assuming Tauler to be the purest example of a Mystic he then asserts that the universal "formula of the only right and possible idea of Mysticism" is "the revival (*Aufleben*) of another subject in man."

God, but "in the Mystic this union is conscious, personal thought"; and even indeed that what the Mystic "calls 'Union with God' is only his utter identification with the interests of the spiritual life"—she naturally cannot maintain this point of view, and everywhere lapses into language with quite other implications. For, as Fresenius (*op. cit.* pp. 50-1) reminds us, it is of the very essence of Mysticism to maintain the immediate presence of the divine in man, needing only to be recognized and felt; and it is therefore that it is by the way of "Contemplation" that the Mystic bids us seek and find God. Miss Underhill herself tells us that "the whole claim of the Mystics ultimately depends on man's possession of pure being in 'the spark of the soul'" (p. 119 note)—"pure being" being but a synonym for the Absolute. Accordingly she tells us that there is a point "where Subject and Object, desirous and desired, are *one*" (p. 86). Or more elaborately: "That there is an extreme point at which man's nature touches the Absolute: that his ground or substance, his true being, is contemporaneous with the Divine Life which constitutes the underlying reality of things; this is the basis on which the whole Mystic claim of possible union with God must rest" (p. 66). And again: "The Mystics find the basis of their method not in logic but in life: in the existence of a discoverable 'real', a spark of true being, within the seeking subject which can, in that ineffable experience which they call the 'act of union', fuse itself with and thus apprehend the reality of the sought Object. In theological language, their theory of knowledge is that the spirit of man, itself essentially divine, is capable of immediate communion with God, the One Reality" (p. 28).

That in this "ineffable experience" called "the act of union", something more is achieved than merely the identification of ourselves "with the interests of the spiritual life"—something very much like the identification of ourselves with God—emerges from such statements as the following. "All pleasurable and exalted states of Mystic consciousness in which the sense of I-hood persists, in which there is a loving and joyous relation between the Absolute as object and the self as subject, fall under the head of Illumination"—(p. 282). "The real distinction between the Illuminative and the Unitive life is that in Illumination the individuality of the subject,—however profound his spiritual consciousness, however close his communion with the Infinite—remains separate and intact" (p. 295). "No doubt there were hours in which St. Catherine's experience, as it were, ran ahead; and she felt herself not merely lit up by the Indwelling Light, but temporally [temporarily?] merged in it. . . . Her normal condition of consciousness, however, was clearly not yet that which Julian of Norwich calls being 'oned with bliss'; but rather an intense and continuous communion with an objective Reality which she still felt to be distinct from herself. . . . Catherine, then, is still a spectator of the Absolute, does not feel herself to be *one* with it" (p. 297). Clearly, then, when the "Unitive Life" itself is attained it is no longer a mere "communion" with the Absolute, but in some more intimate sense a



"union" with it, by virtue of which the "oneness" of the two is experienced as a fact.

That the achievement of this union with the Absolute should be represented by some Mystics at least (p. 496) as "deification" can occasion no surprise. These Mystics certainly do not bate their breath when they speak of it: Miss Underhill herself calls their language with respect to it "blunt and positive" (p. 501). "If we are to allow," she writes, however, "that the Mystics have ever attained the object of their quest, I think we must allow that such attainment involves the transmutation of the self to that state which they call, for want of exact language, 'deified'. The necessity of such transmutation is an implicit of their first position; the law that 'we behold that which we are, and are that which we behold'. Eckhart, in whom the language of deification assumes its most extreme form, justifies it upon this necessity: 'If, he says, 'I am to know God directly, I must become completely He and He I: so that this He and this I become and are one I.'" (p. 502). It is easy to point out that these same Mystics nevertheless protest that by this transmutation the creature does not really become God; and that others prefer the figure of marriage with God to that of deification to express the "mystic union" which they seek in common. But this is only to say that they are Christians as well as Mystics, and that their Christianity modifies their Mysticism: it does not throw doubt upon but rather establishes the fact that the truly—unmodified—Mystical doctrine involves the identification of the creature with the deity. And that for a much deeper reason than the merely epistemological one pointed out by Miss Underhill in the passage just quoted from her (p. 502), or even then that general one adduced by E. Lehmann in the following instructive passage (*Mystik im Heidentum und Christentum*, in *Aus Natur und Geschichte*, No. 217, pp. 4 ff; E.T. p. 7): "What constitutes the main distinction between mysticism and other piety is that the ordinary pious man has above everything an eye for that which *distinguishes* him from God: for his insignificance in contrast with God's greatness, for his finiteness in contrast with God's infinity and eternity, for his sinfulness in contrast with God's holiness. In their feeling of this distinction men remain clearly conscious of their humanity and look upon their God as something peculiar, different from themselves. Of this distinguishableness of God, however, the Mystic will know nothing. God is to him indistinguishable as He is incomprehensible, invisible and infinite and therefore all-embracing. No one is in a position to draw a sharp line between humanity and deity; and therefore this line is capable of being crossed and man accordingly can attain this union." Behind this somewhat negative attitude there lies the positive conviction of the Mystic that there exists in himself a native spark of "pure Being" which is in and of itself divine, and that it is his part to blow this spark into a flame that he may become truly himself in the consciousness that he is really God. "The achievement of reality, and deification," says Miss Underhill (p. 503) "are then one and the same thing; necessarily so, since we know that only the divine



is the real." Accordingly "the Mystic Way" begins "by the awakening within the self of a new and embryonic consciousness; a consciousness of divine reality, as opposed to the illusory sense-world in which she was immersed" (p. 536). There is nothing more fundamental to the whole Mystical consciousness than the conviction that what we shall see when we retreat into the "cell of self-knowledge" is just that Reality which stands to it for God.

One of the natural results of thus conceiving oneself is inevitably a certain intellectual and spiritual pride. The Mystic has a hearty contempt for his fellowmen, who are still shut in by "the hard crust of surface-consciousness", and who know only "the machine-made universe presented by the cinematograph of sense", from which he has escaped (pp. 536-7). For himself—he has been made aware of Reality and has come from out of the cave of illusion, to live hereafter on the supersensual plane (p. 147). According to Miss Underhill the whole external world in which we live is not only of our own creation but is miscreated by us—being but the product of our deceiving senses: nay, each man creates an exclusive world for himself, since the senses of no two men act precisely alike; or rather, each man creates successively a series of exclusive worlds of his own, since his senses never function twice precisely alike; and we have only to imagine what would happen if our senses "were arranged on a different plan" (p. 7)—if for example, as William James suggests, we heard colors and saw sounds—or if "human consciousness changed or transcended its rhythm" (p. 37), to understand in how illusory a world it is that the ordinary man lives. Quite so: if our senses were radically different and "the rhythm of our human consciousness" were radically changed, we should undoubtedly be in a different world—for our senses could not be different nor could the "rhythm of our consciousness" be changed unless we were in a different world. We may find it a pleasant exercise to speculate on what kind of a world would be involved if we had radically different senses or the world-movement proceeded in a radically different rhythm: as we may work out, for example, the nature of a world in which two and two would make five and in which space would have only two or as many as four dimensions. So, holding a key in our hands, we may find a diversion in mentally picturing the changes that would be involved in the wards of the lock by radical differences in the notches on the bit of the key. Meanwhile our senses, the stream of our consciousness, are thus and not otherwise; and that means that the world of which we are a part, and correlated to which we are by means of our senses, and of the movement of which we are aware in the "rhythm of our consciousness", is thus and not otherwise. We may as well "accept the universe": for it is this universe that is; and to be out of harmony with it is only to be intellectually morally, and spiritually mad. It is the condemnation of Mysticism that it must begin by declaring that the world of appearance is illusion and that the rhythm of normal consciousness is a mere jangling, out of tune with reality.

But the Mystic has no more contempt for the man in the street

who persists in accepting the world for what he knows it to be, than for what he calls "popular Christianity", as a religion fit only for the man who "lives in the world of sense". For himself he lays claim to a higher plane of religious functioning. "Thus," we read, "in spite of persistent efforts to the contrary, there will always be an inner and an outer Church: the inner Church of the Mystics who *know*, the outer Church which, operating beneficially it is true, but—roughly speaking—upon the magical plane, only *knows about*" (p. 199). The Mystic has got beyond "prayer" for instance, "as understood by the multitude, with all its implications of conventional piety, formality, detailed petition—a definite something asked for, and a definite duty done, by means of extemporaneous or traditional allocutions addressed to the anthropomorphic Deity of popular religion" (p. 366). He has also got beyond the great redemptive acts of God by which God has intervened in the world to lay an objective basis for the salvation of sinners: each and every one of these—the Incarnation, the Atonement and the rest—is seen by him to be a symbol of a subjective experience which takes place in his own soul. "The one secret, the greatest of all" Coventry Patmore is quoted as saying (p. 141) "is the doctrine of the Incarnation, regarded not as an historical event which occurred two thousand years ago, but as an event which is renewed in the body of every one who is in the way to the fulfilment of his original destiny." The Mystic, Miss Underhill explains, does not so much deny that the Incarnation is an historical event, as merely looks by preference upon it as a symbol of inward experience. And "thus", she adds (p. 142), "the Catholic priest in the Christmas Mass gives thanks, not for the setting in hand of any commercial process of redemption, but for a revelation of reality"—citing in support a passage from the Roman Missal which certainly only in isolation can be pressed into her meaning. Similarly, we read in a little Mystical manual which has come into our hands written quite in Miss Underhill's spirit (*The Path of Eternal Wisdom: A Mystical Commentary on the Way of the Cross*, by John Cordelier (manifestly a pseudonym). London, John M. Watkins, 1911.): "The Cross-bearer of the Universe as He passes in our midst does not act *for* us but *in* us: by an enhancement of our energies, a call to us to use our vitality in greater or less self-regarding efforts" (p. 63).

There is probably nothing in the treatment of Christianity by the Mystical writers which is more offensive than this sublimation of the great constitutive facts—in which the very heart of Christianity is to be found—into symbols of subjective transactions. An unusually inoffensive statement of what is attempted is given in the following explanation by a recent writer (H. Erskine Hill, *The Expositor*. August 1913, p. 192):—"To most men the transitory is the real world, and hence its events and facts assume an absolutely exaggerated importance. To the mystic, on the other hand, the real world is the spiritual, and nothing that happens under conditions of time and space can be anything but reflections. For example, he would not say that the salvation of the world depended on what happened on

Calvary, but that what happened on Calvary made manifest once for all the Eternal Sacrifice on which the salvation of the world depends. He does not think of the Virgin Birth at Bethlehem as the coming of the eternal Christ into the world, but as the manifestation to the world that He is there all the time." It may be, as we are told, that this is "the lifting up of the Son of Man 'out of the earth' which will draw all men unto Him". It is abolishing the scandal of the Cross and removing the offense of the Incarnation by the simple expedient of pushing them both out of sight. He who thinks that the importance of the Incarnation and the Atoning Sacrifice as transactions in time and space is capable of "absurd exaggeration", or doubts that the Eternal Christ came into the world through the Virgin's womb, thus assuming flesh for our redemption, or that the salvation of the world depends absolutely on what happened at Calvary, has assuredly lost all sense of Christian values. He may remain a Mystic, but he has ceased to be in any intelligible sense a Christian.

We have no intention of following Miss Underhill further into the intricacies of her rich and closely packed discussion. We have thought it worth while, at the cost of whatever space it might require, to attempt to get a somewhat clear conception of precisely what she represents Mysticism to be, because thus the significance of her volume entitled *The Mystic Way*, with which we are now more immediately concerned, may be most easily and clearly displayed. For, having thus expounded Mysticism in its nature in the one book she simply turns in the other and says, It is just this Mysticism which what we know as Christianity really is. *The Mystic Way* is, in other words, nothing but an elaborate attempt to explain Christianity as natural religion; and as that particular variety of natural religion which is known as Mysticism, the nature of which Miss Underhill has even more elaborately expounded in her work called *Mysticism*. *The Mystic Way* is indefinitely the thinner work of the two. It gives no such impression as *Mysticism* does of being the fruit of long and loving absorption in its subject. It seems rather to be the product of an impulse; to have been somewhat hastily composed; and to resemble a lawyer's brief got up for an occasion and betraying no very large-minded survey or deep consideration of its subject. There is a certain extremity in its contentions, a certain pressure put on the facts which are adduced, a certain over-anxiety to make out a case, a certain—to speak frankly,—appearance of special pleading combined with insufficient familiarity with the subject-matter, which are at least not so apparent in the other volume. We cannot quite say the volume reads like an afterthought, for all that is said here lies implicitly in the earlier volume and there are not lacking hints in it of what was to come; but the explication of the implications as to Christianity of the earlier volume in the later one has proved a task for which Miss Underhill was not quite prepared and indeed has brought her sharply up against a barrier which is to be removed only by an act of supreme violence. To this extent the second volume, while intended as a corollary to the first, is in actual fact a refutation of it.

The thesis sustained in *The Mystic Way* is, as we have just said, that what we know as Christianity is simply a great irruption of Mysticism. What it sets out to prove is accordingly that Jesus was only a Mystic of exceptional purity and energy; that Paul, John, all the great leaders of early Christianity were just so many outstanding Mystics; and that all the phenomena which accompanied the origin of Christianity and have been thought to be supernatural in character, are just Mystical phenomena, and may be paralleled in the experiences of other Mystics and thus shown to be natural,—natural, that is, to Mystics. In the elaboration of this proof the Synoptical record of the life and teaching of Jesus is subjected to a detailed examination with a view to the explanation of all the phenomena as Mystical; and then the teaching of Paul and of “the Fourth Evangelist” is poured into the same molds. This is followed by some account of “three of the special forms taken by the Mystical impulse in the early Church”, with an appendix on “St. Macarius the Great of Egypt”. And finally, an attempt is made to show that the whole underlying spirit of the liturgy of the Mass is Mysticism. The point of view and method of the discussion are given expression in the Preface in the following words: “The examination of Christian origins from the psychological point of view suggests that Christianity began as a mystical movement of the purest kind; that its Founder and those who succeeded Him possessed the characteristically Mystical consciousness, and passed through the normal stages of Mystical growth. Hence its nature is best understood by comparison with those lesser Mystical movements in which life has again and again asserted her unconquerable instinct for transcendence; and the heroic personalities through whom the Christian vision of reality was first expressed, are most likely to yield up the secret of their ‘more abundant life’ when studied by the help of those psychological principles which have been deduced from the general investigation of the Mystical type” (p. viii). It is important to observe that what is proposed here is an essay in comparative religion; that Christianity is defined as just a mystical movement; and that it is placed in its proper position among mystical movements as only one of the class, so that its explanation may properly be sought from the general characteristics of its class.

We say it is important to observe this. For there is an odd suggestion made here and there, that Christian Mysticism may be set off in a class by itself, and separated by a great gulf from other Mysticism—a gulf so wide that one might think that there could be no bridge of inferences cast over it from one to the other. “We are still too often told”, we read on the page immediately preceding that from which we have just quoted, “that Christian Mysticism is no integral part of Christianity; sometimes, even, that it represents an opposition to the primitive Christian ideal. Sometimes we are asked to believe that it originated from Neoplatonic influence; that Pagan blood runs in its veins, and that its genealogy goes back to Plotinus. Far from this being the case, all the doctrines and all the experiences character-



istic of genuine Christian mysticism can be found in the New Testament; and I believe that its emergence as a definite type of spiritual life coincides with the emergence of Christianity itself, in the person of its Founder" p.( vii). Accordingly, exaggerating beyond all recognition the very natural differentiation of Christian Mysticism from other types of Mysticism made by James Leuba and Henri Delacroix, as they confine their study for the moment to this particular class of Mystics, Miss Underhill is ready to proclaim that "the Christian Mystic" "represents, so far as the psychical nature of man is concerned, a genuine species apart" (p. vii), "constitutes a true variation of the human species" (p. xi). This is not figurative language. Miss Underhill really wishes us to greet in the Christian Mystic the actual super-man. As in the age-long process of evolution the emergence of intelligence introduced a new kind of being and set the factors of evolution on a new plane, she explains, so the emergence of the Christian Mystic has again introduced in evolving humanity a new kind of being and raised humanity to yet a new plane. Miss Underhill is never tired of telling us therefore that the Christian Mystic is not merely morally or religiously different from other men, but is in the strictest sense a new "biological species". "Here we see, in fact," she asserts (p. 11) "creative evolution at work; engaged in the production of species as sharply marked off from normal humanity as 'normal' humanity supposes itself to be marked off from the higher apes. The *élan vital* here takes a new direction, producing profound modifications which, though they are for the most part psychical rather than physical, yet also entail a turning of the physical machinery of thought and perception to fresh uses—a cutting of fresh paths of discharge, a modification of the normal human balance of intuition and intelligence" (p. 11). "If this be so", she remarks again (p. 6), "the spiritual evolution of humanity, the unfolding of its tendency towards the Transcendental Order, becomes as much a part of biology as the evolution of its stomach or its sense".

This "fortunate variation" which has befallen humanity as the ultimate (so far) outcome of a process which has been "continuous from the first travail of creation even until now", it must be carefully observed, has come to it only at the advent of Jesus Christ. "And I believe," we read, "that its occurrence as a definite type of spiritual life coincides with the emergence of Christianity itself, in the person of its Founder" (p. vii). Again: "The first full and perfect manifestation of *this* life, this peculiar psychological growth, in which human personality in its wholeness moves to new levels and lives at a tension hitherto unknown—establishes itself in the independent spiritual sphere—seems to coincide with the historical beginnings of Christianity. In Jesus of Nazareth it found its perfect thoroughfare, rose at once to its classic expression; and the movement which He initiated, the rare human type which He created, is in essence a genuinely biological rather than merely credal or intellectual development of the race. In it we see life exercising her sovereign



power of spontaneous creation: breaking out on new paths" (p. 34). And still again: "More and more as we proceed, the peculiar originality of the true Christian mystic becomes clear to us. We are led towards the conclusion—a conclusion which rests on historical rather than religious grounds—that the first person to exhibit in their wholeness the spiritual possibilities of man was the historic Christ; and to the corollary, that the great family of the Christian Mystics—that is to say, all those individuals in whom an equivalent life-process is set going and an equivalent growth takes place—represents to us the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen, in respect of the upward movement of the racial consciousness. This family constitutes a true variation of the human species . . ." (p. 41). If these and such deliverances mean anything, they mean that with Jesus Christ something new came into the world, something so new that all that had been in the world before it is inadequate to its explanation. And yet Miss Underhill proposes to treat it as only an instance of "the Mystical type", and on the ground that it manifests "the characteristically mystical consciousness" to explain it from general Mysticism of which it is obviously only a specific manifestation!

The expedient by which Miss Underhill escapes from the *impasse* into which she has brought herself by her isolation of Christian Mysticism as a new creation in the world, is as remarkable as the exaggerations by which she has brought herself into it. Having separated Christian Mysticism off from all other so-called Mysticismisms as something (in the "biological" sense) specifically different, she cheerfully proceeds at once to mix it up again with them all. Here is the passage in which she does it (p. 42). "This new form of life, as it is lived by the members of this species, the peculiar psychic changes to which they must all submit, whatever the historic religion to which they belong, may reasonably be called Christian, since its classic expression is seen only in the Founder of Christianity. But this is not to limit it to those who have accepted the theological system called by His name. 'There is', says Law, 'but one salvation for all mankind, and that is the Life of God in the soul. God has but one design or intent towards mankind, and that is to introduce or generate His own Life, Light, and Spirit in them. . . . There is but one possible way for man to attain this salvation, or Life of God in the soul. There is not one for the Jew, another for a Christian, and a third for a Heathen. No; God is one, human nature is one, salvation is one, and the way to it is one.' We may, however, define the Christian life and the Christian growth as a movement towards the attainment of this Life of Reality; this spiritual consciousness. It is a phase of the cosmic struggle of spirit with recalcitrant matter, of mind with the conditions that hem it in. More abundant life, said the great Mystic of Fourth Gospel, is its goal; and it sums up and makes effective all the isolated struggles toward such life and such liberty which earlier ages had produced." If we understand this paragraph (in which Christ ceases to be the first to become only the classic expression of Christian Mysticism)

it amounts to saying that we may fairly call by the name of Christian Mysticism, any spiritual movement in which we may discover those characteristics which we have discovered in the movement which we have designated by that name. And this would seem to amount to nothing less than saying that the element common to all Mystical movements is not their Mysticism but their Christianity! It is a complete *bouleversement* of values. Something was originated by Christ. We will say it was Mysticism. But Mysticism obviously was not originated by Christ; it exists apart from Him, it existed before Him. But that can be remedied by recognizing all Mysticism by virtue of our agreement that Mysticism was originated by Christ, as Christianity! If Christianity is just Mysticism, why of course Mysticism is Christianity and Christianity, since Mysticism has nothing to do with Him, has nothing to do with Christ.

We do not intend to enter into the details of Miss Underhill's elaborate explaining away of the whole supernatural element of Christianity in her effort to transmute it into just Mysticism, to her reduction of the prophet to "a spiritual genius", of Paul's mighty works to "a growth of automatic powers", of the Son of Man to "the forward-marching spirit of humanity". There is nothing distinctive about the processes she employs or the conclusions she reaches. We may briefly allude only to her dealing with what she calls "the confused poem of the resurrection" as an instance in point. The only fact that emerges clear from it, she tells us, is that "a personal and continuous *life* was veritably recognized and experienced; recognized as belonging to Jesus though raised to 'another beauty, power, glory', experienced as a vivifying force of enormous potency which played upon those 'still in the flesh'" (p. 149). This cannot be accounted for, she thinks, on purely subjective lines. The thing seized upon was "the indestructibility and completeness of the new, transfigured humanity; the finished citizen of the Kingdom of God" (p. 150). The vision then was "of a *whole man*, body, soul and spirit, transmuted and glorified—a veritable 'New Adam' who came from heaven" (p. 151). And it was of course by the intuition, not the senses, that he was 'seen' (p. 152). Certainly, no such "whole man" existed as the Jesus that was seen. As the Ascended Christ (p. 233), so naturally the Resurrected Christ was "discarnate". All this, of course, we have heard before: Miss Underhill's rationalism is certainly of the commonest garden variety. Take this amazing specimen (p. 219, note 2), relatively to the employment of "John" to designate the author of the Fourth Gospel: "I retain for convenience sake this traditional name, which may well be that of the actual author: 'John' was a common name in Christian circles." Surely enough there are five hundred and ninety-five "Johns" listed in Smith and Wace. But what made "John" so favorite a name "in Christian circles"? And how does Miss Underhill know that "John" was a common name in Christian circles at about the time the Fourth Gospel was written, say at the turning-point of the first and second centuries? None of Smith and Wace's five hundred and ninety-

five "Johns" belong to that period except one ("The Presbyter John")—and he was not invented until later. The irruption of "Johns" in Christian circles means an earlier date by a generation for the Gospel of John; for it is not allusions to John in other books but the writings attributed to him which have made the name of John precious to Christians.

That there are elements—fortunately extensive, even dominating elements—in that historical phenomenon which we know as "Christian Mysticism" that derive from Christ and what He brought into the world, of course no one will deny. It is these elements which constitute this Mysticism that particular variety of Mysticism which we call Christian Mysticism, and which justify, or rather require, that it should be studied apart, as Henri Delacroix has done in his excellent volume on *Les Grandes Mystiques Crétiennes* (1908) which Miss Underhill misquotes in her efforts to make Christian Mysticism out to be a wholly new creation in the world. We shall all approve of Delacroix's going to the great Christian Mystics by preference to learn what Christian Mysticism is, lest, as he says, he should see only the lower characteristics of it and so miss the greatness of these great men. And we shall all approve also of his going rather to those of them who have lived and practiced Mysticism than to those who have merely written about it. But we shall not doubt any more than he doubts that a doctrine underlies the practice of even these practical Mystics, or that this doctrine by virtue of which they are Mystics derives not from Christ but from Plotinus. "No doubt," he writes,—“and we shall show it in this book—doctrine intervenes in experience, and there is, to speak it out, no great Mystic who has not grounded his experience in a doctrine and who has not up to a certain point made doctrinal preoccupations intervene in the constitution of his experience. . . . We have shown that throughout the whole course of Christianity there has been an almost continuous mystical doctrine deriving from Neoplatonism. . . . We shall find it again as a substructure and an implicit theory in the Mysticism of experience” (p. iv). In a sense the source of all of Miss Underhill's woes is her determination that Christian Mysticism, as it is Mysticism, shall find its starting point in Christ and not in Plotinus. "Above all," she writes, "we shall be in conflict with those who . . . consider the Mystical element in Christianity to be fundamentally unchristian and ultimately descended from the Neoplatonists" (p. 58). Nevertheless it was she herself who when not so deeply intoxicated with this theory, told us that "Christian philosophy, especially that Neoplatonic theology which, taking up and harmonizing all that was best in the spiritual intuitions of Greece, India and Egypt, was developed by the great doctors of the early and mediaeval Church, supports and elucidates the revelations of the individual mystic as no other system of thought has been able to do" (*Mysticism*, p. 125); that "we owe . . . above all to Dionysius the Areopagite, the great Christian contemporary of Proclus, the preservation of that mighty system of scaffolding which enabled the Catholic Mystics to build up the towers and bulwarks of the City of God" (p. 125).

Least of all can any one deny that there is a sense, a wide sense, a sense too wide for the historical meaning of the term Mysticism, in which Christianity is mysticism. It is of the very essence of Christianity that God has immediate access to the human soul and that the Christian enjoys direct communion with God: it is of the very essence of Christianity that it is in Christ that every Christian lives and that it is Christ who lives in every Christian. If there is nothing that shocks the Christian more in Mysticism than its tendency to seek God apart from Christ—as W. Herrmann says “to leave Christ behind” (*Communion*, E. T. p. 30), he is equally shocked when Herrmann on his own part declares: “There can be no such thing as communion with the exalted Christ” (p. 291). We shall not turn our backs on Mysticism therefore to throw ourselves into the arms of that Ritschlianism in which Miss Underhill, perhaps rightly, sees the most determined modern enemy of all mysticism. But neither need we in revolt from Ritschlianism cast ourselves into the arms of that Mystical individualism which would throw man back on what we have seen Miss Underhill speaking of as the “revelations of the individual” (*Mysticism*, p. 125). There are some words of Herrmann’s which, deeply vitiated though they are by his inadequate view of the person and work of our Lord, and of the relation of the Christian to Him, may yet bring us a needed warning here. “The Christian,” says he (p. 193), “can never even wish that God should specially appear to him or speak down to him from heaven. He receives the revelation of God in the living relationships of the Christian brotherhood, and its essential contents are that personal life of Jesus which is visible in the Gospel and which is experienced in the lives of the redeemed.” It certainly is not merely in the communion of saints that we have communion with God; it is not only in and through the community of Christian men that we receive the impression of the living Christ; “the personal life of Christ”, that is, the aroma of His holy personality lingering behind Him in the world, does not constitute the essential contents of the revelation of God; the whole conception of the work of Christ and of the substance of the Gospel here outlined is in direct contradiction with what the Gospel itself proclaims. But it is true that the Christian ought to be, and will be, satisfied with the revelation of God in Christ, and cannot crave special and particular revelations, each one for himself. The one revelation of His grace which God has given to His people in His Son is enough for the needs of all and floods the souls of all with a sense of its completeness and its all-sufficiency. As Dr. A. Kuyper beautifully expresses it, God the Lord does not feed His people each by Himself but spreads a common table of the abundant supply of which He invites His whole family to partake. But just because the common supply is enough for all, He gives in it personal communion with Him, the Master of the feast, to each and all; and in that communion abundance of life. “Humanity,” says A. H. Strong (*Philosophy of Religion*, pp 220-2) finally “is a dead and shattered vine, plucked up from its roots in God, and fit only



for the fire. But in Christ, God has planted a new vine, a vine full of His own divine life, a vine into which it is His purpose one by one to graft these dead and withered branches so that they may once more have the life of God flowing through them and may bear the fruits of heaven." "It is a supernatural and not a natural process," he adds. And it is only "in Christ", we may add with the utmost emphasis.

Princeton.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

*Eternal Life: A Study of Its Implications and Applications.* By Baron FRIEDRICH VON HÜGEL, Member of the Cambridge Philological Society, Author of "The Mystical Element of Religion, as studied in Saint Catherine of Genoa and her Friends". Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. 1912. Elaborate Contents and Index. 8vo; pp. 1, 443.

It is important to understand from the outset that this book was prepared originally as an article for Dr. Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, and has been published in book-form rather than as an encyclopaedia article only because it had grown too big for its original destination. There are characteristics of the mode of treatment of its theme which can be explained only from this circumstance. On the other hand it must be said that there probably never was an encyclopaedia article not merely more diffusely written but more diffusely thought. There are few subjects connected with religious philosophy and especially with the recent history of religious philosophy which do not receive as full discussion in it as "eternal life". Indeed it is doubtful if it can be accurately said that Baron von Hügel ever comes to the serious discussion of his proper subject, and we are not sure that the average reader will not lay the book down without having learned anything of importance about it. What the book really is, is a survey of recent religious philosophy, in connection with its historical antecedents, with some, apparently incidental, application to the problem of eternal life. This survey is admirably done and the reader as he passes through the book forms a high opinion of the acuteness, sobriety and balance of Baron von Hügel's own thought. Penetrating expositions and criticisms meet us on every page and occasionally exceedingly felicitous summaries of Baron von Hügel's own views are interjected, which quite illuminate the subject which happens to be in hand. Meanwhile it is only by a hint here and there that the reader is kept reminded that the professed subject of the book is "eternal life".

It is in recent philosophy that Baron von Hügel shows himself most at home. The least satisfactory portions of the discussion are those which deal with the Biblical material. Here Baron von Hügel has fallen into the hands of the Philistines: he orders his material under the direction of the radical critics and he accepts for its exposition the guidance of its least sympathetic interpreters. He who commits himself to the leading of Wellhausen and H. J. Holtzmann can never hope to understand either the Prophets of Jehovah or the



Apostles of the Christ. How little Baron von Hügel has to bring from his own study of the sacred text to the correction of his ill-chosen guides may be estimated from the confusion into which he falls (pp. 50 *e.g.*) of the Kingdom of God and the Parousia in his account of the teaching of the Synoptical Jesus and the sad results it works in his exposition. We learn, however, in passing that Dan. xii. 2 is the only passage in the Old Testament where "everlasting" or "eternal" life is spoken of explicitly, and that neither in the Old Testament nor in the New is the conception of eternity as simultaneity much insisted on. Indeed we have dropped into our lap this valuable remark (p. 50): "It is important, however, clearly to realize that simultaneity of itself is as little spiritually qualitative a conception as is succession by itself; and to note how again in these passages [of the later Old Testament, along with the Apocrypha] it is God, His purity and power, who centrally occupies the soul; intercourse with, proximity to Him—this is eternal life". Which being interpreted, we may understand that the Old Testament conception already was not far from that enunciated in John xvii. 3: "And this is life eternal, that they should know thee, the only true God, and him whom thou didst send, Jesus Christ."

In his occasional direct references to "eternal life", Baron von Hügel is perhaps preoccupied with its metaphysical side. He here and there lets drop valuable pieces of information as to the conceptions of the philosophers as to Time and Eternity. Parmenides, we learn, for instance, was the first to draw a quite plain and precise discrimination between an Eternal Now and all Succession (p. 31). But he has had to wait for Bergson to teach him precisely how to conceive of the relation of "eternal life" to time (p. 232 note, 298-9). The main point which under this guidance he labors is that we need here not two but three notions to cover the ground—Succession, Duration, Simultaneity; and that the essence of the idea of Duration lies not in change but in Permanence. "However real, however simply ultimate (for man) may be Duration (and this book strongly holds that Duration is indeed thus real and ultimate), Duration is, surely, at its highest, not in its element of Change, but in its element of Permanence" (p. 298). Man, then, possessing Duration, has "a relative Abidingness, a quasi-eternity". It is not in this quasi-eternity, however, Baron von Hügel sees, that man's "eternal life" consists. It consists, he tells us, in the sense that, though "we ourselves shall never, either here or hereafter, be more than quasi-eternal, durational", we are indeed actually touched, penetrated and supported by the purely Eternal" (p. 366). It consists "in the most real of relations between the most living of realities—the human spirit and the Eternal Spirit, God" (p. 378). Baron von Hügel adds: "and in the keen sense of His Perfection, Simultaneity and Prevenience, as against our imperfection, successiveness and dependence". But this does not seem to us an adequate account of the actual relation. We rise from the book, therefore, feeling that with all its excellences, and they are many and great—it does not help us much at the center of things.

And we fear that the source of our disappointment lies pretty deep. It is not the philosophers who can teach us what "eternal life" is; but only the Scriptures. And Mystics do not care as much for what the Scriptures teach as they very profitably might.

Princeton.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

*The Principle of Authority, in Relation to Certainty, Sancity and Society.* An Essay in the Philosophy of Experimental Religion. Lectures by B. T. FORSYTH, M.A., D.D. New York and London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1913. Pp. x + 475.

It is not an easy task to read this large book. Dr. Forsyth shows no pity to the readers of a busy age. Like many of the moderns in music, art and letters, he ignores the time-honored rules of composition. His paragraphs lack both topic sentences and summaries. His thoughts follow a psychological rather than a logical order, being grouped in similar masses instead of developing in logical sequence. Add to this the singularly oracular tone of the book, the numberless assertions supported neither by proof nor citation of authority, its unrestrained joy of utterance, the absence of an index,—surely a combination of qualities calculated to daunt the stoutest-hearted reader.

Nevertheless Dr. Forsyth says many things in an impressive and striking manner. Witness the remarks on "The Real as the Redemptive" pp. 201 seq.; "The Integration of Christ into a Redemptive System" p. 309; "The Great Church" pp. 240 seq. and a host of others we might mention not only interesting but very suggestive. The main topic is the Principle of Authority, and the immediate reason for its discussion is the growing disrespect paid to it. There is, says Dr. Forsyth, an increasing ferment among the workmen; the woman movement threatens the very foundations of society, and we are in danger of a spiritual catastrophe. The imperative question of the day is that of Authority, and how wide this question reaches is to be seen in the fact that its consideration carries Dr. Forsyth into a discussion of nearly every subject now before the church.

According to the Reformers, authority was the first property of Scripture—a property which resulted directly from its inspiration. In the opinion of many, however, critical research has invalidated the old doctrine both of inspiration and Scripture. Obviously then, if the principle of authority is retained, it must attach to something else than Scripture. Dr. Forsyth apparently no longer holds to the old view of Scripture. To quote: "for that age (sc. the Reformation) the whole Bible was equally inspired. . . . But now we do not so read the Bible, now . . . we distinguish in the Bible much that belongs only to knowledge or imagination from much that belongs to personal faith, much that is outgrown from the things that cannot change" p. 320. More clearly perhaps in an article in *The Hibbert Journal* for October, 1911, on "Revelation and Bible" we have a statement that gives Dr. Forsyth's view of Scripture and that to which he attaches authority. "God does not save men by authorship, by dropping a book from the sky, by dictating a work of more than genius. That might be the

way of Mohammedanism, or Mormonism, but it is not the way of the Gospel. God does not save us even by inspiring a book. He did something which in its turn inspired the book. Christ wrote nothing, He commanded nothing to be written. And for both prophets and apostles, for Old Testament and New Testament, the writing was an afterthought." Dr. Forsyth then, if we grasp his thought correctly, discards the book in favor of a Redeeming act of God in Jesus Christ which comes home to the consciousness of every man who comes to know it. This Redeeming Act has authority and in the present work Dr. Forsyth traces its application through all the manifold phases of human experience.

This view offers at first glance a twofold advantage. It enables one to effect a combination of the cold science of modern criticism and the warmth of old evangelicalism, and further it transforms our old "static" concepts, with their annoying questions of truth and falsehood, into the new "dynamic" concepts about which one does not need to worry, because of each, to use Dr. Forsyth's words, it may be said *solvitur ambulando*.

Further reflection however suggests some disquieting thoughts. To make the book an afterthought and still retain the Redeeming Act—is it not to discredit the testimony for a fact and still try to retain the fact? Perhaps this is an exaggeration of Dr. Forsyth's view but at any rate there seems to be an inconsistency somewhere in a method which attributes authority to God's Act but refuses it to God's Word, unless indeed what the Church all through the centuries of her history has received as the Word of God has now finally turned out to be the word of man.

Dr. Forsyth's "dynamic concepts" may be illustrated as follows: "Revelation is an act, not an exhibition of God" p. 206; "Christ is not merely the historic fact but the divine act" p. 48. Knowledge is no longer "our knowing God but God knowing us". Faith becomes an act of will or obedience. The advantage of this way of thinking is that "the soul's life is not now arrested by central doubt" p. 20. He tells us "The vital sciences, and especially history, have altered the whole complexion given to truth by the mechanical sciences. They have turned the divine reality from being the world's first cause to be its living ground, and from its ground to be both its Saviour and its God". "Christian certainty . . . is therefore soul certainty and not rational certainty; a certainty which is a state of the soul and not a truth held by it;" p. 46. Many other statements to the same purport may be found in Dr. Forsyth's article on "Intellectualism and Faith" in *The Hibbert Journal*, January, 1913. The only value of such views is as a criticism of one sided intellectualism—they become equally one sided when they seek to replace it. Let us recall the words of the Eleatic Stranger in the Sophist: "Then the philosopher, who has the truest reverence for Being, cannot possibly accept the notion of those who say that the whole is not rest, either in one or many forms; and he will be equally deaf to those who assert universal motion, but according to the children's prayer about all things movable and im-

movable, he would like to have both of them: Being and the all would be affirmed by him to consist of both." To which weighty statement Theætetus answered, "Most true".

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GEORGE JOHNSON.

*Immanence: Essai critique sur la doctrine de M. Maurice Blondel.*

Par JOSEPH DE TONQUÉDEC. Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne. 1913.

Pp. xv + 307.

Maurice Blondel, Professor of Philosophy in the Université d' Aix-Marseille, with Ollé-Laprune, Laberthonnière and Edouard le Roy, has put forth a philosophy of religion which, as part of the Modernist movement so-called, is causing no small stir in the French Roman Catholic Church. These thinkers differ in details, but common to all is the adverse criticism of intellectualism in all its forms and the adherence to pragmatism, not so much as a system, but rather as that attitude of mind which leaves verification to the practical outcome.

The present volume is a carefully considered attack on M. Blondel's system, called *Immanence* after its chief notion. "*L' immanence, c'est l'interiorité*", means that beings interpenetrate one another. Transcendence, the opposite of immanence, means that beings are isolated the one from the other. M. Blondel does not deny transcendence in the sense that God must be recognized as a reality other than our own; but, since in the universe all things are mutually interrelated while all are in process of change, the principle of immanence must be considered constitutive for thought and being. The task of the philosopher is thus the study of action.

Assuming the correctness of his position, M. Blondel proceeds to combat two errors. Extrinsicism, supposing that reality is composed of parts exterior the one to the other, results in a multitude of errors: in philosophy, that the mental organism is composed of distinct parts; in theology, that a God of nature and a God of the supernatural are juxtaposed; in apologetics, that sense can demonstrate the miraculous, reason the divine, revelation the supernatural; in sociology, that post-mortem examinations of the social and moral order will yield certain results. The error of intellectualism consists in holding that reality is exactly as we conceive it, and that we are therefore warranted in asserting the primacy of reason.

M. Blondel changes the *in esse* into an *in fieri*, and so truth becomes not a correspondence of thought with its object but the accord of mind with life, or in words perhaps a little less obscure, the striving of truth becomes the effort of the interior life of each to get into possession of itself by actualizing all its relationships. Truth ceases thus to be a "Gabe" and becomes an "Aufgabe".

Evidently the theory of immanence must have destructive effects on those notions of Roman orthodoxy which presuppose the notion of transcendence. All speculative demonstration of the existence of God it considers superfluous; it makes it difficult to define the supernatural; a divine intervention becomes inconceivable. If, however, the old way of certainty is gone, M. Blondel has a new way which he



recommends as just as good. It is Action, meaning by this the whole of life, not a phase of it, not opposed to thought but comprehending it. "Agir . . . c'est chercher l'accord du connaitre, du vouloir et de l'être. "The individual knows God by action since life reveals in each an ego that is not identical with his own. It is God. The apologetic of immanentism aims therefore not to prove an extrinsic reality but to make each recognize what takes place in his own soul. Church dogmas M. Blondel treats after the same manner, as hypotheses to be verified by experience, or as formulas whose correctness can only be known by practice.

We thus see that M. Blondel presents us with an interesting variation of the fashionable present-day note in philosophy. M. Tonquédec's method of refutation is to call attention to the vagueness of the notions employed by the "Philosophy of Action". He also notes that in order to get anywhere it must use, implicitly or explicitly, notions borrowed from the systems it condemns. He then examines in detail the points in which M. Blondel differs from Roman Catholic orthodoxy, and endeavors to work out a solution which, in not a few cases, is highly ingenious. The attentive reader will probably rise from the perusal of this work with two impressions: that "immanentism", if properly corrected, may serve to enrich our views, and that Roman Catholic theology is more flexible than it is often given credit for being.

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GEORGE JOHNSON.

*The Belief In Personal Immortality.* By E. S. P. HAYNES. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1913. \$1.00.

Certain unkind, not to say unjust, insinuations found in the preface make it somewhat difficult to follow our author with a ready mind. The author confesses so much prejudice that he may well be deemed incapable of being impartial. The atmosphere of the book may be interpreted as indicating that when we become sufficiently intellectualized the thought of personal Immortality will not appeal to us and the belief in the Supernatural will be eliminated.

The subject is pursued through eight chapters with varying interest. In the introduction Mr. Haynes addresses himself to a two fold question concerning Immortality. "Would (1) the moral foundations of society, and (2) all human happiness be destroyed by an universal disappearance of the belief?" This question is not much discussed but furnishes an opportunity to assert that the first part is scarcely an issue because Immortality can be related to the Moral Foundations only through the belief in future rewards and punishments, and that this, especially the belief in punishment, is dying a natural death except in the Anglican and Roman Catholic circles. The author's substitute for belief in Personal Immortality is that of Influence in the memory of friends. Under the second part of the question the lament of the Rationalists is centered in the "vast sums of money at present spent in propagating effete superstitions". The superstitions in mind are Immortality and the Supernatural which are regarded as complements of each other.



The first four chapters are given to an historical survey. In the First and Second chapters the doctrine of the soul is traced through the Religions of the Savages and through the Religions of Egypt, Greece, and Rome. The most extreme Animism is accepted and some zeal is shown in the warm commendation of the conclusions of Bertrand Russell's *Problems of Philosophy*. In the third chapter—Christian Europe Up to Kant—in the short paragraph devoted to Duns Scotus the fundamental presupposition of the book is uncovered in the "will to believe". The Fourth chapter, which is a survey of "The Philosophy of the Nineteenth Century" relative to the subject in hand, is the most interesting of all but even here we are confronted with the inability of the writer to distinguish between the flickerings of the flame of the "hell-fire" sermons and the abandonment of the Christian Doctrine of Immortality. There is manifest comfort in the effort to destroy the validity and minimize the significance of consciousness. The chapter accomplishes only this personal confession with which it closes: "What I do feel is that there is a strong presupposition against the belief in personal immortality; and apart from some belief in Christianity or Theism, I fail to see that there can be any strong presumption for it".

With the close of the Fourth Chapter interest wanes. The Fifth Chapter "The Bearing of Science" must have been a disappointment even to the writer. Consciousness is conjectured to be the "Inward personal experience of certain molecular changes in the brain". We are led through much of scientific statement and metaphysical inquiry to the conclusion, as far as the chapter has one, that the difficulties require us to abolish sex, and that Spiritualism and Psychical Research offer the only haven for those who believe in Personal Immortality. Mr. Haynes seems quite assured that the cycle of the religious begins in Animism and ends in Spiritualism. The chapter on Psychical Research and Spiritualism presents nothing startling except the conclusion which is, "That those who really want to be convinced resort to the Spiritualist more than to the Priest and thereby get a better run for the money". If the positive element in the Current Argument were no stronger than is to be inferred from the chapter on the subject the contention would not be worth while. On the other hand, however, there is little in the chapter which would distress even the weaker brother. The Ethical Conclusion deals chiefly with rewards and punishments. The conclusion of the whole matter is in support of that "sort of immortality" which "belongs passively to everything".

In a word the futile effort of the book stands as its own refutation. The book bears no evidence of marked scholarship. Its chief commendation lies in its array of negative material. The whole treatment is vitiated by the constant insinuation and sometimes open charge of insincerity of all those alike,—whether philosopher, theologian, or intelligent Christian—who believe in Personal Immortality. Only the ignorant may sincerely hold to Personal Immortality is the author's position.

*Princeton.*

C. M. CANTRALL.

*Evolution and the Need of Atonement.* By STEWART A. McDOWALL, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge; Assistant Master at Winchester College. Cambridge: At the University Press. 1912.

Some years ago it was feared that Evolution, with its explanation of the method by which the earth came to be as it is, made entirely unnecessary the concept of a Creator of all. The early writers confused an explanation of method with a statement of source. Since then we have come to realize that evolution originates nothing; that it only greatly increases the need of a Creator since it implies above all else the working out of a great and exceedingly complex purpose through very many and very marvelous means. Unless an evolutionist deliberately refuses to think he is confronted by the inevitable questions as to the source of the evolution which he sees and as to its ending. If all the confusing voices that at one time deafened the ear of the scientific inquirer are now to be brought into harmony through this great doctrine their very harmony demands an adequate explanation. Mechanism demands a mechanic and the greater and more perfect the mechanism the greater and more pressing must be the demand for an adequate explanation. Thus the Christian Theologian can well see in the general acceptance of evolution by men of the scientific mind a splendid foundation on which he can build in interpreting to them the truths that lie above and behind the processes that appear in nature.

A great difficulty has however arisen. If we grant that God made the world and that He planned it and finally when the time was right brought forth man, it then seems logical to regard all man's progress since his creation as a steady march God-wards and therefore to deny the older view of the effect of sin on the race and of the need of the Atonement. Many evolutionary theologians therefore have come to regard sin as a necessary evil appearing during the progress of mankind. They argue that it will be outgrown in time. Manifestly the need of the Atonement is denied and the work of Jesus becomes that of a Teacher and not of a Saviour. It is this situation that Mr. McDowall's book seeks to meet. How well he succeeds can only be realized by those who read it.

It would not be fair to the author to try to outline his argument in the short space of this review. But it is so clear, so scientific, and so satisfying that it is worthy of careful thought and study. His definition of sin at first sounds strange to one brought up on the Shorter Catechism but upon analysis it is found to be identical with the earlier definition. His view of evolution is inspiring and his conclusion as to the need of the Atonement seems sound.

Perhaps to some the force of the argument may be impaired by the author's manifest sympathy with Bergson's philosophy, yet its effectiveness really does not depend on this. It is also rather unfortunate that a chapter on the "Christian Thought on the Atonement" breaks in so sharply on the course of the argument. This chapter accomplishes little and seems to weaken the final conclusion.

Mr. McDowall does not claim to understand *how* the Atonement

works. He is only concerned in showing its need. That he does so is the opinion of the reviewer.

Cranford, N. J.

GORDON M. RUSSELL.

*The Book Without A Name.* Chiefly on Naturism, or the Religion of Science. Compiled in Dixieland. By ORAN CATELLEU. London, E. C.: C. W. Daniel, Ltd., 3 Amen Corner. 1913.

"God made men upright; but they have sought out many inventions." This volume is one of them and one of the most foolish. It is possible to present Pantheism logically and to treat it as a religion in a natural manner. Here we have Pantheism but no real knowledge of Science and no logical argument. In place of argument is arrogant dogmatism. The book is full of bitter criticisms of Christianity, which continually reveal a shallow knowledge of what Christianity really is and the possession by the so-called "seeker" of a mortal grudge against the church and against all ministers. It claims to have been written in a little town in the South and reflects just such a bigoted spirit in its hatred of all things Northern.

It will do no one any good to read it. It can also do no harm to any one who is able to think seriously.

Cranford, N. J.

GORDON M. RUSSELL.

*Jesus of Nazareth in the Light of To-day.* By ELBERT RUSSELL, Professor in Earlham College. Author of "The Parables of Jesus". Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company. 1909. Pp. 111. 60 cents net.

Our attention was directed to this book by seeing it on the library table of a parishioner's home. The title was certainly captivating. "Jesus of Nazareth,—in the light of to-day". It was precisely the Jesus many were curious to see. We wondered what this twentieth century Nazarene would be like. In the preface the author says his aim is "to show Jesus in his saving truth and power to those who may be alienated from the Christ of past generations" (p. 4). It is "the twentieth century Christ" for "the twentieth century man", and the twentieth century man is the man "who thinks in terms of the evolutionary philosophy, who presupposes the commonly accepted results of the historical and literary criticism of the Bible" (pp. 9-10).

While the treatment is in some respects helpful, we have found it for the most part disappointing. Not the least defect is its brevity. A book with such a pretentious title surely deserves a more thorough and self-defensible discussion. Whoever would give the Christ of the twentieth century thinker will have to devote more space and development to his portraiture than Professor Russell has done, or he will face the peril of misrepresenting both the thinker and the thinker's Christ.

The bulwark of Christ's mission was His teaching (Ch. 6). To this is applied the evolutionary test of the survival of the true: in His view of the kingdom of God ("the universal family"), the historic Israel, His ability to convince, to satisfy permanent human needs.

Chapter XI passes on to His personality. The Jesus of the modern thinker is a religious genius (Ch. 2), sinless (p. 14), original (Ch. 3), an intellectual giant (p. 88), the human manifestation of God (p. 110). The soteriological aspect of Jesus has not received the attention one could wish. At the close Professor Russell assures us that "any adequate explanation of Jesus must be virtually the explanation of his first interpreters" (p. 110).

*Langhorne, Pa.*

BENJAMIN F. PAIST, JR.

*The Crown of Hinduism.* By J. N. FARQUHAR, M.A. Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford. 1913. Pp. 469. \$2.50 net.

This is an unusual book showing great range of research and is patiently wrought. It evidences a voluminous knowledge of Hindu history, teaching, and philosophy and a first hand penetrating appreciation of the Hindu mind. The author does not assume, let us say, that the occidental reader has any knowledge of Hinduism nor that the Hindu has any considerable knowledge of Christian teaching. This makes the book unnecessarily full and, because of the arrangement of the material some descriptions and arguments are repeated. From the viewpoint of American and European readers much of New Testament quotation and Christian teaching might well have been omitted. From the viewpoint of the Hindu much of the discussion of Hinduism might better have been left out. Presumably the purpose of the volume is apologetic and is intended for the educated Hindu reader. It is calculated to confirm the faith of the Christian Indian and to present an unanswerable argument to the Hindu. It is an attempt to discover and define the relation subsisting between Hinduism and Christianity. The line of approach is that of similarity rather than that of contrast. It is just at this point and in this particular that one hesitates to approve the method of the book. It ill becomes one who is not cognizant, from personal experience, with the Hindu mind to pronounce against the method for it may be the best to use. The conciliatory approach no doubt receives the first if not the most lasting consideration.

One thing is evident, Mr. Farquhar always has in mind Hinduism as a practical religion. To the Hindu willing to read such a book it ought to prove itself a fascinating study of the similarities to be found in the two religions. One must confess, however, that there will not be a considerable fascination for the occidental reader. On page 55 of the Introduction one sees for the first time just what is in the author's mind and that discovery lodges the suggestion of a suspicion which persists. To have Christianity presented as "The Crown of Hinduism" is not a specially pleasing thought. To present Christianity as if it were made to order to specially fit at once the highest eminences and the darkest defects of Hinduism surely weakens the claims of Christianity. It is not only highly distasteful but a distinct failure to grasp his essential dignity to speak of Jesus as studiously avoiding this or that inconsistency. Why not say of Christianity "Here is a religion of strength and power as contrasted with the



weakness of Hinduism, a religion of life and light as over against the darkness and endless deaths of Hinduism. Jesus Christ hath abolished death and brought life and immortality to light. He has robbed service of its servility and death of its sting."

The method of the book as expressed in the title and pursued throughout is its one glaring defect. If by "The Crown of Hinduism" it is intended merely that Christianity gives the only answer to the cry of the Hindu soul, then there can be no serious objection to the use of the title in such connection, since religions of all kinds and degrees of merit, and much that is scarcely recognized as religion at all, may be regarded as the cry of the soul after God. Surely we all believe Jesus Christ is the only answer alike for Hindu and Hottentot as well as for the most finished product of the highest civilization. But if the title is to be taken in this broad view it loses all special fitness and ceases to be adequate, and we feel the need of the material being organized under another head. Christianity is not the "Crown of Hinduism" in any such sense as the New Testament is the Crown of the Old Testament. There is no seed in Hinduism with all its hard injustices and its intellectual absurdities which could produce the results of Christianity. Hinduism's only possible attitude toward Christianity is that of the suppliant seeking a spiritual salvation—the freedom and liberty which is in Christ. It may not be questioned whether it is best to present Christianity merely as something to be introduced into Hinduism. Such a view does not inspire confidence. Christianity is always, and of necessity, revolutionary both in its message and in its method.

What can there be in common between Christianity and a religion in which there is confusion of substance in an identity of self with God, and which says (p. 223) "I am Brahman"? Men stumble over the way in which Jesus identified Himself with the Father. How much more difficult is the attained deity of Hinduism. It is very different from Paul's "Christ liveth in me", which utterance, as if for fear of its being misunderstood, Paul hastens to define more carefully thus, "the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God who loved me and gave Himself for me". But we are also told (p. 420) that "in all the sects man's spirit is no longer the supreme Spirit whole and undivided but an *amsa* or portion of God". This newer view may save personality to God but it leaves no room for man's personality, and the problem is as inexplicable as before. This is surely a far cry from the Christian doctrine.

We find (p. 247) some working definitions. "Austerity is the endurance of pain in order to gain pleasure, power, or some other material end." "Asceticism on the other hand is the endurance of pain or the giving up of comforts in order to gain moral or spiritual ends." Quite acceptable definitions, but when later (p. 537) it is asserted that "Jesus fulfils the Indian ascetic ideal" one's sense of fitness revolts. Mr. Farquhar doubtless appreciated this; for he immediately qualifies the statement by showing that Jesus was unlike the monk in that the suffering was not self-inflicted. This does not fully satisfy for it puts



Jesus into the category of one merely smitten by the misfortunes of war. Jesus never put himself into that classification. A study of certain verses in the second chapter of Phillipians where the exercise of the sovereign right of self-renunciation is set forth, and in the eighteenth chapter of John, "to this end was I born and for this cause came I into the world", would have helped to the vital point of distinction which seems to have escaped the author in its entirety, at least in this connection. The distinction lies not in the manner of the infliction of suffering but in the purpose. Surely Jesus suffered neither for his own moral discipline nor for spiritual advantage, so he was not an ascetic at all but a Saviour whose suffering was vicarious, yes, and efficacious. It is due the author, however, to say that he does have a paragraph toward the close of the book in which is asserted the Saviorship of Jesus; but its recognition does not permeate the book, and even in the paragraph referred to it is put forth almost as if it were but the fulfilment of Hindu thought. "Manilla Vachakar and Tulsi Das realized the Incarnate One in His compassion and love would suffer for the sake of men: Jesus fulfilled their thought on the Cross of Calvary." In another connection (p. 425) we find this "Jesus, whose teaching so wonderfully crowns the ideas of Hinduism, is needed to give stability and reality to the Hindu belief in incarnations". Was such the purpose of His mission or is He become merely an ornament of Hinduism?

We are told somewhere in the book that Hinduism must die unto Christianity, but it nowhere rises to a passion. The whole matter of the relation of the two religions seems to be looked upon as a matter of adjustment. Almost every Christian doctrine is shown to have a counterpart in Hinduism and one comes to feel that for the Hindu to become Christianized it is but necessary for him to build up his accepted doctrine at one point and dress it down at another. Christ is "lifted up" but is he so lifted up that the drawing power will be manifested? There is much in the book which seems to savor of an attempt to build Christianity on Hinduism. The folly of such an attempt ought to be manifest from the author's own statement that, (p. 455) "Twenty-five years ago no educated Hindu dreamt of defending Idolatry and the grosser features of caste and Hindu life, to-day almost every type of revivalist defends the whole of Hinduism".

Notwithstanding the age and the organization of Hinduism, the terrible blight of its dread Karma, and all the efforts of the revivalists, together with all their misguided allies, the Theosophists and some others who seek to tone down Christianity so it may become an easy adjunct to Hinduism,—notwithstanding all this, pessimism, which is of the genius of Hinduism, is slowly but most surely being replaced by an optimism which is the child of western civilization and Christian teaching. Our author (p. 422) is authority for saying that the Hindu has suddenly become very modern in that his philosophy of religion now embraces all the great religions inasmuch as their founders are regarded as incarnations. The product of Hinduism in its palmy days was useless, for its ideals were not worth achieving. But a new

nationalism is rising through the revolutionizing influence of western civilization and through the ministries of the church in the name of Christ. The heaven is working from both extremes of society. The dissolution of caste has begun in that (p. 177) "the religious basis of caste has faded out of the minds of educated Hindus". The power of Christian ministries is well certified by the Hindus (p. 277-281).

The book has many worthy qualities. It will be much consulted by students of comparative religion. There is within its pages a certain system of Christian teaching which has some apologetic value; but the lines of symmetry of the system fit the frame of Hinduism, and the apologetic value is greatly vitiated by the fact that the product is not Christianity pure and simple, but a composite of certain presumed religious value everywhere presenting the flower and fruit of Christianity but always with something of the fragrance and flavor of Hinduism. It is not enough to say in next to the last conclusion of the book, "the Indian patriot must choose between tradition and the health of his country", nor is it sufficient to say in the language of the last conclusion, "In Him (Jesus) is focused every ray of light that shines in Hinduism".

Princeton.

C. M. CANTRALL.

*Spirit and Power.* By D. M. M'INTYRE. London: James Clark & Co. 1913.

It is a great pleasure to review a book written by a friend when the matter is fully approved and when the personality of the author is so manifest that as you read you all but see his face and hear his voice. Mr. M'Intyre is a son-in-law of Andrew Bonar and his successor in the pulpit of the Finnieston church which for two generations has been the church of most fervent piety in the city of Glasgow. While this book was on the press its author was elected president of the Christian Institute which is a training school for Christian workers and has a great variety of ministries.

The material of this book is largely the substance of a series of addresses delivered in conferences, intersynodical, synodical and presbyterial, arranged for the purpose of strengthening the desire for a spiritual awakening in Scotland. The questions discussed relate chiefly to ministerial service. With characteristic modesty Mr. M'Intyre trusts the book may be of some service to *young* ministers and other Christian workers. The subjects discussed are varied and treat of much pertaining to ministerial fitness and function. Every page bears the banner of God's goodness. There is much of the vision of the prophet and there is everywhere the breath of prayer.

The following analysis of the seventeen chapters is not altogether amiss. What may be considered the first section—chapters one to four—opens with a sweep of the field and discusses its needs and possibilities. It has a chapter on the "Joy of the ministry", and closes with a challenge to the minister. In chapters five to ten "Revival" is the great subject. Its need and its scriptural authority are set forth. The power of the Cross and the unbroken supply of the spirit of

Jesus are discussed. It rises in intense personal penetration with the declaration, "The life of the preacher the soul of his preaching". Chapters eleven to fourteen discuss the pastoral office and methods, culminating with the minister's identification of himself with the desire of the Master. The concluding chapters emphasize the gift which is faith and the testing of truth by its relation to the Deity of Jesus. The book closes with a setting forth of the glory of love in God and in the Christian.

*Princeton.*

C. M. CANTRALL.

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## EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY

*The Early Poetry of Israel in Its Physical and Social Origins.* By GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Aberdeen. Being the Schweich Lectures for 1910. London: Published for the British Academy by Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press. 1912. Pp. xi, 102, with index. 3s. net.

The distinguished author, whose three lectures before the British Academy are recorded in a fuller form in this volume, expressly reserves to himself in his preface the right to "use the contents of these lectures in a larger work on Hebrew poetry", that he hopes some day to publish. What is given us here is therefore an intermediate sketch—something between the brevity of a three-hour course of lectures and the comprehensiveness of a major work—forming an interesting and suggestive contribution to the already rich literature on Biblical poetry. It is suggestive, mainly because of its author's enthusiasm in the elucidation of ancient literary impulses and methods through comparison with those prevailing in what he regards as similar circles in much later times. And it is interesting, chiefly because of his genius for seizing the center of each problem and holding it up for picturesque treatment, to the neglect of such details as fill up the ordinary scientific treatise.

This style of Principal Smith's is peculiarly suitable to his theme in this book. There is pervasively a poetic touch even in his handling of the poetry. Such a style keeps the reader in sympathetic humor with the writer and maintains the interest at places where it might otherwise flag.

The first lecture deals with the form of Israel's early poetry, the second and third handle its substance and spirit. The significant fact in Principal Smith's treatment of poetic form is that he commits himself definitely to the cautious attitude of those who reject the theory of absolute metrical uniformity. "The zeal," he says, "manifest in many recent reconstructions of Hebrew verse, to reduce the lines to strict metre and the parallelism to absolute symmetry, seems to me, in the light of what we do know about Semitic and other poetries, to be unscientific, and in the shadow of what we do not yet know, to be very precarious. I cannot follow the Symmetrians" (pp. 19 f).

Perhaps the happiest feature of his discussion of the spirit of Hebrew poetry, is his striking statement of the four paradoxes that he perceives in the Semitic character. These are the following: 1) "strong sensual grossness, combined with equally strong reverence and worship"; 2) "a marvelous capacity for endurance and resignation broken by fits of ferocity"; 3) "a versatile subtilty of mind, devoid of originality and power of sustained argument"; 4) "a distinct subjectiveness in the Semite's attitude to the phenomena of nature and of history, combined with as distinct an objectiveness or realism in describing these phenomena" (p. 33). It requires no long argument to make every lover of Old Testament poetry feel that in these concise statements there are gathered up real and conspicuous qualities of the authors of the Psalms, of Job, of Ecclesiastes, of the Song of Solomon. Dr. Smith is not the first to have observed any one of these paradoxes. But he has expressed, arranged and illustrated them in a way that stamps his thought permanently upon the memory of his readers. With all that may be fanciful in his tracing of analogies, his service to scholarship is unquestionable, and it is a pleasure to note that again and again he is led to plead for the early date and genuineness of poetic passages, which by a less sympathetic, penetrative criticism than his own have been relegated to a later age and an artificial impulse. For him a prime reason for maintaining the genuineness of the Song of Moses, Exodus xv., is his conviction, from the comparative study of primitive peoples and their poetry, that "to them poetry is not merely the arrangement in regular measures of vivid, musical words; nor is the composition of it left to the professional poet. Early peoples expected in poetry . . . that it shall be the product of experience rather than of imagination; that no strange heart or voice is sufficient for it, but that the very head, hands and limbs which have done the actions celebrated shall spring, warm and rhythmical, from the doing of the things to the singing of them. Of such poetry we may say that it is just the peroration of life; and that after all must be the vividest poetry" (p. 54). Verily, the old Book receives confirmation from the most varied sources. Principal Smith has just added one more to the already long array, in estimating its earliest poetry by criteria derived from a comparative study of primitive poetries.

*Princeton.*

J. OSCAR BOYD.

*The Literature of the Old Testament.* By GEORGE FOOT MOORE, Harvard University. New York: Henry Holt and Co. London: Williams and Norgate. 1913. Pp. vi, 256. With index. 50 cents net.

Helps of all sizes and sorts are to be had from our publishers, designed to popularize and advertise the radical views of the Old Testament long familiar in academic circles. This little book is one of that character, and belongs to the "Philosophy and Religion" series of the "Home University Library of Modern Knowledge". Written by Professor Moore, it is just what might be expected of such an author:



a reliable presentation of the views of the Wellhausen school as to the origin and character of the Old Testament books. It is clearly written, quite succinct and yet full enough to furnish the reader a substantial grasp on the main features of the subject. For one who does not care to use so large a work as Professor Fowler's recent volume (Macmillans', 1912), and yet hardly enjoys the obtrusively text-book flavor of Professor Kent's numerous publications, this small book by Dr. Moore will prove satisfactory.

Books of this kind, designed to give general impressions and suppressing all detail, are better fitted to produce conviction of the truth of their assertions, than the other and laborious type of argument. Weak points are easily avoided, divergences among individual members of the school need not emerge, and general considerations can be presented so skilfully that the reader, unless cautioned, will scarcely realize that there can be any other side to the question. For instance, Dr. Moore in distinguishing the documents of Genesis moves lightly over the ominous raveling out of the symbols J E D P into minor "strands, each having a consistency and continuity of its own", which appears also "in subsequent parts of the history from Genesis to Samuel" (p. 42). From all that appears in such a book as this, not a suspicion would be roused of that cumbrous mass of incredibly complicated analysis which one finds, *e.g.*, in Carpenter and Harford-Battersby. Again, Dr. Moore's view of the origin of the priestly legislation (pp. 55 f) is presented in brief outline, that hardly suggests the significant contradiction between it and the views commonly urged by Pentateuchal critics of his school. The author commits himself (p. 63) to that view of Deuteronomy which sees in it a document produced expressly to "bring about a revolution such as actually followed its well-timed discovery", and "written in the second half of the seventh century", *i.e.*, in the reign of Josiah. So far from intimating the hopeless disagreement of critics on the questions of authorship involved here, Dr. Moore adds immediately, "this is now the opinion of almost all who admit that the common principles of historical criticism are applicable to Biblical literature". This!—when all that is needed to answer, *e.g.*, the arguments of a Kautzsch on this subject is to read Kuenen, and *vice versa*. Finally, as an illustration of the ease with which in such a brief and general discussion contradictions inherent in the author's theories may be covered up, we quote, first from p. 56: "the things that Ezra and Nehemiah were most zealous about . . . do not stand out in the so-called Priests' Code as they do in other parts of the law"; and now from p. 64: "it was only in the Persian period . . . that the conditions implied in P arose". If one of these assertions is right, the other is wrong. As a matter of fact, the former is true; the latter is false. The "uncertainty" of the documentary analysis in the latter half of Joshua is conceded, without the admission fairly due that it amounts in fact to a breakdown. And so on. The booklet, however, has only the defects of the critical principles of its writer. As a compact exposition of those principles it is admirable.

Princeton.

J. OSCAR BOYD.



*Les Prophéties d'Ézéchiel contre l'Égypte (xxix.-xxxii.).* By JOSEPH PLESSIS, priest of the diocese of Nantes. Paris: Letouzey et Ané. 1912. Pp. viii, 119.

*Les Prophéties d'Ézéchiel contre Tyr (xxvi.-xxviii. 19).* By P. CHEMINANT, priest of the diocese of Rennes. Same publisher and date. Pp. x, 129.

These two theses, presented to the theological faculty of Angers by candidates for the doctorate, are noteworthy achievements of modern Catholic scholarship. That priests, presumably in the constant exercise of their parochial tasks, should be able and willing to delve into the historical and literary problems of the Old Testament, and the literature that has accumulated about them, as deeply as these writers have done, speaks loudly in praise of the educators to whose influence and encouragement they frankly acknowledge their indebtedness. Mgr. A. Legendre and M. L. Gry are to be congratulated on such pupils. Their work is comprehensive, yet ordered with characteristic Gallican facility; it is down-to-date, yet conservative. In each study, after the translation and notes follow chapters on the literary and historical questions involved in the whole section, and, in the case of the Tyrian oracles, a version of the poetical passages metrically arranged.

Princeton.

J. OSCAR BOYD.

*The Wisdom of Jesus, the Son of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus, with Introduction and Notes.* By W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D., Jesus College, Cambridge. University Press. 1912. Pp. civ, 367. (Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.)

*The Book of Wisdom, with Introduction and notes.* Edited by the Rev. A. T. S. GOODRICK, M.A. London: Rivingtons. 1913. Pp. xii, 437. (The Oxford Church Bible Commentary.)

These are two thoroughly scholarly commentaries on two of the apocryphal books most consulted by students of both Old and New Testaments. Dr. Oesterley is already known for his studies on the synagogue and on eschatology, and Mr. Goodrick shows himself equally at home in the literature of the subjects discussed. No revolutionary views are here propounded. A sane criticism is manifest in the introductions. The former work is much the clearer, as well as the more concise, of the two. Indeed the notes on Wisdom are overburdened with quotations and citations that add little to the reader's understanding of the text, and the effect is both heavy and confusing. However, the work itself ("The Wisdom of Solomon") is admittedly difficult to interpret.

Princeton.

J. OSCAR BOYD.

*The Life and Teachings of Jesus according to the Earliest Records.*

By CHARLES FOSTER KENT, Ph.D., Litt.D., Woolsey Professor of Biblical Literature in Yale University. With Map and Chart. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1913. Pp. xiii, 337. \$1.25 net.

This is volume v in the Historical Bible series edited by Dr. Kent.

It is intended, as its preface states, to guide "in the quest of the real Jesus" by "distinguishing and separating in the sources which reflect the earliest impressions of Jesus' personality the oldest records from the later variant accounts which blur the original portrait". The Jesus that is here sought and portrayed, the "real" Jesus, is not the Jesus of the Gospels; he is not even the Jesus of the sources supposed to lie back of the Gospels, but the Jesus of subjective construction from whose portrait the transcendent and supernatural elements have been eliminated. The epithet "divine" remains but only within the limits of humanity. The "master builder" and "teacher" is also the "savior" but only by his teaching and example. He wrought cures of diseases that were curable. The great majority of his miracles "when thrown into the crucible of historical criticism emerge unscathed" but only by ceasing to be miracles. The conservative position which insists upon the truly miraculous character of the miracles "is worthy of the utmost sympathy and respect" but "more progressive thinkers, on the other hand, believe that the moral grandeur of Jesus is obscured by certain of the nature miracles popularly attributed to him". He accepted certain erroneous ideas of his time; the biblical testimony concerning the manner of his birth is inconclusive; his resurrection must be interpreted not physically or naturalistically but spiritually. The processes by which these results are reached follow the usual regressive course from John to the Synoptic Gospels, then to the sources of the Synoptic Gospels—Mk and Q, and from the sources to the "real" or "historical" Jesus. In expounding the teaching of Jesus sympathy is shown especially for its social significance but without adequate appreciation of the profound significance of human sin or due recognition of the vital relation which Jesus' death sustains to its permanent relief.

Dr. Kent's book thus takes its place in the "liberal" Life of Jesus literature. It does not however meet the difficulties with which this view is confronted. Its fundamental defect lies in its principal attitude toward the supernatural in history and the consequent subjectivity in its treatment of historical evidence. Schweitzer has characterized a certain type of this literature as a futile attempt to "Germanize"—which may be generalized into "modernize"—Jesus and has formulated the alternative "historical or mythical". The "real" Jesus is the "historical" Jesus, and the "historical" Jesus is the Jesus of the Gospels—the Jesus of primitive Christian faith as set forth in the documentary evidence. Being historical He not only resists modern transformation but, by virtue of what He was and is, He transcends historical limitations, including those of "consistent eschatology", and acts immediately in the present as Lord and Saviour.

In certain matters of detail opinions may reasonably differ; in others agreement ought to be possible. Whatever scheme of chronology be adopted for the Apostolic Age Paul can scarcely have "completed his work and probably sealed it by martyrdom at Rome" "before the close of the first quarter century following the death of Jesus" (p. 8). The saying in Mk. ii. 27 is not "lacking in one of the most

important texts (B)" (p. 91), but is omitted in D and certain other authorities (*cf.* von Soden). In Lk. xxiii. 15 the fact that "Herod sent Jesus back to them [the high priests]" is urged as evidence that "verse 10 which states that they pled their case before Herod is an interpolation from Mk. xv. 3" (p. 287); but the textual evidence does not justify the premise upon which this inference is based. The best text has ἡμᾶς which can only refer to Pilate. The reading ὑμᾶς is weakly supported—by the Ferrar group—and is characterised by Merx as "thöricht". It affords a possible but not a probable alternative text only with a variant in the verb which makes Pilate and not Herod the subject or with an inversion by which ὑμᾶς rather than αὐτόν becomes the object.

Errors of printing are few: p. 295, 1.8 from bottom, 33 for 36; p. 303, 1.4-5, "spiritualize"; p. 303, 1.7, "*Trad.*" for "*Tral.*"; p. 324, 1.6 from bottom, "Marcion's" for "Tatian's".

Princeton.

WILLIAM P. ARMSTRONG.

*Die Briefe Petri und Judä* völlig neu bearbeitet von D. RUD. KNOPF, Professor d. Theol. zu Wien. Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament begründet von Heinr. Aug. Willh. Meyer. Zwölfte Abteilung—7. Auflage. Göttingen. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1912. Pp. 329. 6.40 M.

In the recent literature devoted to the interpretation of the New Testament the revision of Meyer's Commentary holds an important place. Like the latest revisions such as J. Weiss on 1 Corinthians and von Dobschütz on the Thessalonian Epistles, Knopf's work is new. The older editions thus retain their value and the new bring their own independent contributions. This edition takes its place with the work of Gunkel, Windisch, and Perdelwitz in German and with that of Hort, Bigg, and Mayor in English. Knopf does not accept the genuineness of any of the three Epistles which he expounds. He does not think well of Harnack's view that 1 Peter was originally an anonymous homily to which the introductory verses and the conclusion were added later, but holds that the author was an unknown man of post-Pauline times who wrote under the name of Peter, most probably in the ninth decade of the first century (81-90). Those addressed were Gentile Christians, and the persecutions to which they were subject did not proceed from the State. The Epistle of Jude is likewise pseudonymous, belongs to the period 80-100, and is addressed to Christians either of Syria or Asia Minor. 2 Peter also is pseudonymous and shows dependence on Jude and probably on the Apocalypse of Peter. It thus falls in the second century, nearer the middle or end than the beginning, about 150-180. The work of interpretation is carefully done and is suggestive and instructive. The style is clear and concise. The exposition has the advantage in 1 Peter of sound premises in regard to the readers and their circumstances. Occasional excursuses are added on particular matters. The πνεύματα ἐν φυλακῇ in 1 Peter iii. 19 are understood of the angels imprisoned and kept in the under-world that figure in Enoch and Jubilees, the whole passage

concerning the *descensus ad inferos* being simply a piece of nature myth but having this significance that it expresses the idea of the universal intent and scope of Christianity and embodies the expectation of a final apokatastasis.

Princeton.

WILLIAM P. ARMSTRONG.

*Paul and His Interpreters. A Critical History.* By ALBERT SCHWEITZER. Privatdozent in New Testament Studies in the University of Strassburg. Author of "The Quest of the Historical Jesus". Translated by W. MONTGOMERY, B.A., B.D. London: Adam and Charles Black. 1912. Pp. xi, 253. New York Publishers: The Macmillan Company, 66 Fifth Avenue. Price \$2.75 net.

As the preface tells us, this work is a continuation of the author's "*Von Reimarus zu Wrede*" of the English Translation of which, published under the title "The Quest of the Historical Jesus", a review appeared in our January number for 1911. The method of procedure is in both works the same: to a historico-critical survey of the previous discussions of the subject there is subjoined a positive construction in which the preceding critique is turned to account to reach a theory which shall avoid the mistakes and failures of the past. Of the work on Paul, however, we receive for the present only the historico-critical instalment. The positive half is to appear later as a separate publication. But sufficient indications are scattered through the volume and enough advance information is afforded in the concluding chapter to warrant the prediction, that to the explanation of Paul, as well as to that of Jesus, the author expects to apply the principle of "thoroughgoing eschatologism", and that the adjective "thoroughgoing" will be found equally pertinent in both cases. In fact the principle reigns so supreme that one might easily fancy it to have affected the author's subjective attitude of mind towards his material. There is a pronounced eschatological atmosphere about the criticism of the previous literature; in its incisiveness and comprehensiveness and finality it appears like a great judgment transaction. On the whole, however, it cannot be denied that the judgment is fair and well-reasoned, so that the tone of sovereignty characterizing it, is in part justified by the author's extraordinary command of the subject. As concerns the positive side of the matter, here our remembrance of what the principle produced by way of interpretation of the life of Jesus cannot but cause serious misgivings. It should be kept in mind, however, that there must be from the nature of the case considerable difference between the thoroughgoing-eschatological treatment as applied to Jesus and as applied to Paul. In his book about Jesus the author set himself the task to show how the eschatological force produced a life-tragedy. In the present work he merely undertakes to show how it produced a system of belief. It is evident that this difference must work to the advantage of the discussion foreshadowed in our volume. There is every reason to expect that the results in point of sanity and plausibility will be far less open to criticism. A great deal of the unnaturalness of Schweitzer's construction of the



career of Jesus was due to the fact that a purely abstract scheme of eschatological belief was here represented as having been translated into a concrete conduct of life, every step being explained as consciously predetermined in the mind of Jesus from purely doctrinaire premises. With Paul, on the other hand, we have arrived within the region of doctrine and here the predominance of the theoretical doctrinaire point of view will seem less out of place.

The great problem of the history of dogma is, according to Schweitzer, the development of the religion of Jesus into the Christianity of the Hellenic world. It involves in reality three problems, one connected with the transition from Jesus to primitive Christianity, another connected with the relation of Paul to primitive Christianity, a third touching the origin of Hellenic Christianity either in dependence on or independently of Paul. Baur was the last to attack this great complex problem in its entirety and to attempt a comprehensive solution. Since his days, and beginning with Ritschl, the problem has, if not in form, at any rate in substance, been evaded and glossed over, a procedure facilitated by the conventional division of the territory to be explored into the three separate provinces Life of Jesus, Apostolic Age, History of Dogma. At the same time Baur's solution, even after his critical edifice has fallen, still continues to cast a spell on the interpretation of Paulinism. The striving of Baur and the old Tübingen school was to solve the problem, how a purely Hellenic system of belief could have grown up out of Jewish antecedents, on the principle of carrying back as much as possible of the Hellenic substance into the first origins of the process, in other words by virtually Hellenizing Paul. The Tübingen view took for granted that the principles of universalism and law-freedom were already symptoms of the process of Hellenisation. Thus the way was opened up towards applying the same explanation to those elements in the Pauline teaching, which, in contradistinction to the forensic circle of ideas, may be conveniently grouped together as the physico-mystical trains of thought, such as the antithesis between flesh and Spirit, the subjective process of redemption, the Christ-mysticism, the Pneumadoctrine. Since Lüdeman's investigation of this subject in his work on the Pauline Anthropology (1872) it has become fashionable to distinguish a Judaistic and a Hellenic element in Paul in the sense indicated. Pfeiderer in the first edition of his *Urchristenthum* (1887) and Holtzmann in his *New Testament Theology* (1st ed. 1897) are the classical exponents of this critical consensus about the presence of a Hellenic strand in Paulinism. But the same assumption underlies equally much the theorizing of the ultra-Tübingians of more recent date of the Dutch school and others, who propose to explain the Pauline epistles in toto as products of the second century, for here it is again the correct perception, that a movement of thought which is essentially Greek cannot have sprung up in the mind of a Jewish man by a sudden aberration, but requires for its rise and maturing an actual Hellenic environment and a considerable lapse of time. And once more the case is not different with regard to the still more recent



*'religionsgeschichtliche'* interpretation of Paul on the basis of the Hellenistic syncretism, and in particular of the mystery-religions. This theory also starts with the supposition that those elements in which it discovers parallels to contemporary syncretistic or Hellenistic religious ideas, and which it accordingly proposes to explain and illustrate on the principle of derivation from this or at least from a common source, are actually Hellenic.

It is this widespread assumption of a Hellenic ferment in the mind of Paul which Schweitzer challenges and attacks. He pursues it relentlessly in its variegated forms through the successive chapters of this book. No one will be able to read the criticism without receiving a profound impression of the inherent weakness of the theory and being struck with wonder at the long and almost undisputed supremacy it has been able to maintain in the circles of liberal criticism. On the credit side of the theory, as originally conceived, stood only the dualism of flesh and Spirit, and that only in a general superficial way. In the particular aspects of the doctrine no influence of Greek conceptions has ever been pointed out. Many more, and more weighty, considerations stand on the debit side. An incredible capacity is ascribed to the Apostle for combining contradictions after the most naïve fashion. The inclusiveness of his mind far exceeds the limits not merely of the logically but also of the psychologically conceivable. Then there is the need in which the advocates of the theory find themselves of overspiritualizing Paul's statements in order to make them approach the Platonic conceptions. A serious obstacle is further encountered in the self-evident primitive-Christian, eschatological background of Paul's doctrine of the Spirit, as soon as this is viewed in its broader aspects and not with one-sided reference to the antithesis between flesh and Spirit. Still further account must be taken of the strange phenomenon that the original Apostles never suspected anything Hellenic in Paul's teaching. But the crowning argument is furnished by the observation that the representatives of the later Hellenizing development in Christian theology, Justin, Ignatius and the others, do not recognize Paul as the one who had made a beginning of Hellenizing the Gospel. They do not appeal to him nor make use of him to authenticate their conceptions as genuinely Christian. Schweitzer very cogently and pointedly puts this argument by saying that in case modern criticism were right in professing to find Greek elements in Paul, it would have to be credited with an acuter instinct for what is Hellenic than the very men who Hellenized Christianity. The argument may also be made to work in the opposite direction, because Paul, no matter whether he borrowed from Hellenism or not, was at any rate unconscious of doing so. Therefore the same anomaly would return here: modern criticism would have shown a better instinct for the provenience of this factor in Paul's thought than the man who himself introduced it.

The element of truth in the theory Schweitzer would find in this that the Pauline mysticism bears a certain analogy of form to the Greek mysticism. It externally has the air of being a twin-formation

to it. But this applies only to the later Hellenistic form of Greek religious thought not to the Hellenic philosophical thinking in its older more general character with which the earlier critics used to reckon. The presently prevailing phase of the theory, which asserts a dependence of Paul on the Greek-Oriental syncretism of his time, specifically on the mystery-religions is in so far better off than the older form. It can actually point to a common fund of religious expression between Paul and these contemporary systems of religion, and is able to offer concrete evidence in support of its position. But so far as identity of substance between Paul and Hellenism is concerned the new theory of the "*religionsgeschichtler*" makes out no better case than the earlier critics did. The preliminary objection to be raised to it is this, that Paul is obviously Judaistic through and through, and that, whatever influence from the quarter named might have been exerted upon him, would have had to come indirectly through its previous absorption by Judaism. "The suggestion that apart from this he might be personally and directly affected by Oriental influences calls for very cautious consideration. In particular we ought to be very careful to guard against raising the possibility to a certainty by general considerations regarding all that the child of the Diaspora might have seen, heard and read." What might be conceived and has to be recognized in the case of large collective developments spread over considerable periods of time, cannot without more be transferred and made a principle of explanation in the case of an individual. And, if the question be put on this broader basis of a possible infiltration of syncretism into the later Judaism and through it into Paul, the inherent implausibility of assuming such a thing immediately springs into view and much more clearly obtrudes itself, than where the whole issue is staked on the possible influences which Paul the individual might have or might not have absorbed. Of course this objection is only preliminary. Ultimately the question is a question of fact. The two points at issue are whether there is substantial identity between the syncretism and the mysteries on the one hand and Paul's religion on the other hand, and whether the substance of Paul's religious thought can be explained in no other way than through derivation from that extra-Jewish source. Both these questions the author answers in the negative. His examination of the alleged identity between the two systems is not only very searching, but also possesses the merit of bringing together what from various sides has been advanced against the hypothesis in question, so that an easy survey of the controversy in its present stage of development may here be obtained. Schweitzer strenuously insists upon it that in putting the question Paul's views shall not be confounded with those of the Johannine theology and, on the basis of the correspondence of the latter to the ideas of syncretism, a similar correspondence affirmed with regard to Paul. Thus it is not permissible to compare with the terminology of the mystery-religions the conception of a "rebirth", as occurring in Paul, for it is precisely characteristic of Paul that he does not currently avail himself of this representation, but speaks instead of a "dying and rising

with Christ". Generalizing this the author makes the striking observation that "the Paulinism which the students of Comparative Religion have in view is mainly an artificial product which has previously been treated with the acids and reagents of Greek theology". It is further urged with great force that Paul cannot have known the mystery-religions in their later more spiritualized form, filled with the yearning for redemption, but only in their cruder earlier form, which would be much less likely to appeal to him than the other form. Another point on which stress is laid is that the mystery-religions lack the figure of a Redeemer-God, who could be placed over against the Messianic figure of Christ in Paul's religion. The question of identity in regard to sacramentalism is carefully investigated, and the conclusion reached, that the apparent analogies discovered are not as a matter of fact obtained by any direct information about the sacramental elements in the mystery-religions, concerning whose character and *modus operandi* there is admittedly little exact knowledge, but through the unwarranted approximation of the mystery-religions to the primitive nature-religions. The idea of an eating and incorporation of the deity on the part of the worshiper is thus first imported into the mysteries on the principle that these involved a survival or revival of religious ideas belonging to the lowest strata, and then on the basis of this it is asserted that Paul might have derived his sacramental conception from that source. Directly it cannot be proven that the idea of eating the deity entered into the mystery-religions, and the circumstance that its natural correlate, the sacrificial feast, plays no rôle in these cults, rather tells against its occurrence there. If analogies are to be pressed it were much better for this reason to go to the ancient cults as such. Even here, however, Schweitzer refuses to acknowledge a real analogy. He does so on the ground that Paul knows nothing of the eating and drinking of the body and blood of the Lord, but only of the eating and drinking of the bread and the cup. This is quite true so far as a literal Capernaïtic eating of the body and blood is concerned, which is, of course, excluded by the fact that on Paul's premises the exalted Christ no longer possesses flesh and blood, but it is incorrect if meant to eliminate the conception of an assimilation of the Person of Christ described in terms of eating and drinking His body and blood, for that this conception was actually present to Paul his quotation of the words of the institution, which cannot have been to him an empty formula, clearly proves. In our opinion there is actually here a conscious recurrence for the explanation of the supper upon the ancient (Old Testament) idea of the sacrificial meal, as the reference to Israel after the flesh, who eat the sacrifices and so have communion with the altar in 1 Cor. x. 18 also shows. Schweitzer's position on this point is not, however, to be explained from a mere desire to pursue the Mystery-hypothesis into its last recesses, but he thinks to have reasons for believing that the primitive Church, as little as Paul, knew of a partaking of the body and blood of Christ in the Supper, that the words of institution did not form part of the service, and that no consecration of the elements

took place.<sup>1</sup> In regard to the other sacrament, that of baptism, a similar line of argumentation is followed with the same result. In the Mystery-religions the idea of purification nowhere definitely passes over into that of renewal. Nothing is known in them of a baptism in the name of the deity. The name-magic does not appear connected with the rite of purification. Nor is the Pneuma-endowment associated with it as is the case in Paul. When Schweitzer further urges as a characteristic distinction, that, whereas in the Mysteries the sacramental idea is the logical outcome of the symbolism, with Paul the sacrament is irrational, because there is no inherent symbolic connection between contact with the water and the dying and rising with Christ, he seems to overlook that such a connection is actually traced by Paul when he represents baptism as a burial with Christ and a coming to life again. To be sure for the advocates of the theory in question this yields no advantage, for it implies a symbolism of which the mysteries know nothing.

Last of all the author comes to close quarters with Reitzenstein in discussing the question how far Paul's "physical mysticism" as such, apart from his doctrine of the sacraments, which is supposed to be only mechanically attached to the former, coincides with the Mystery-religions. The concession that the terminology of which the Apostle avails himself was derived from the religions of the Greek Orient is readily, perhaps too readily, made. But Reitzenstein's chief sin is that he neglects the study of the Jewish Apocalypses, and refuses to consider a possible explanation of the Pauline mysticism from that source. In the very doubtful myths about the god Anthropos Schweitzer does not place much faith. The eschatological scheme of the two ages with their two Adams as their representatives accomplishes everything that this figure stands for and accomplishes it far more naturally. Similarly the dual personality in Paul is an essentially eschatological phenomenon, appearing before Paul in Jesus and the disciples, and therefore something far more primitive than anything found in Hellenistic Mysticism. There is no need of explaining it from the deification of the believer. It means nothing else than that the two worlds struggle together for existence in the same man. Less to the point appears to us the criticism that in the mysteries there is a God-Mysticism, while Paul teaches a Christ-Mysticism, for this rests on the professed view that the Pauline Christ is not God, only a heavenly being, a view which seems to us contrary to the facts. A real

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<sup>1</sup>In this connection we notice a slip on page 206, where the author finds the symbolism of the Supper in its eschatological reference obscure, because he does not see "how by eating and drinking the dying and return of the Lord can be shown forth?" Paul does not say that the eating and drinking show forth the return of the Lord; the showing forth is confined to the dying; the Apostle's words are: "Proclaim the Lord's death till He come". The eschatological reference, while undoubtedly present in the sacrament, is not expressed in the symbolism, at least not so far as the Parousia is concerned.



point of difference is noted in the process by which in each case the transformation takes place: in Paulinism this is objective, a world-movement from without draws the believer within its sweep; in the Mysteries it is subjective brought about by the vision and gnosis of God. Hence Reitzenstein, in order to make out a true parallelism with the Mystery-ideas, is led into subjectivizing the conception of dying and rising with Christ occurring in Rom. vi. and elsewhere, as if it described voluntary action on the believer's part. For all these reasons Schweitzer concludes that in this central matter as little as in the more peripheral question of the sacraments does any real resemblance or any real connection exist. If, he adds, a true dependence of Paulinism on the Mystery-cults were proven, this would only result in raising once more with renewed urgency the question of the ultra-Tübingians, whether it is possible at all to explain Paulinism within the limits of primitive Christianity. The only logical view to take on such premises is that primitive Christianity itself was already a syncretistic product and with this we have arrived at the position of Gunkel and Maurenbrecher, from which there is but one step to Drews and W. B. Smith. In that case no explanation of Paulinism is required, for the simple reason that Paul added nothing new.

In the above review of Schweitzer's critique upon his predecessors it is not difficult to discover the lines along which his positive construction will move. Undoubtedly it may be expected to shed valuable light on the Pauline world of thought in some of its most mysterious regions. Certainly the eschatological factor was a strong motive-power in the Apostle's mind. And as in the case of Jesus the recognition of this cannot fail to do much towards a rehabilitation of the essential ingredients of the old orthodox interpretation of Paul. Consistent eschatology is bound to stand for supernaturalism, the objectivity of redemption, the predestinarianism of the application of redemption. That to Schweitzer's view these are purely exegetical and historical matters which do not represent any dogmatic conviction, we are, of course, well aware, but this does not detract from their importance to those who are willing to accept the exegetically and historically ascertained faith of Paul as authoritative for themselves. The only thing to be feared is, that the eschatologically-explained Paul will turn out to be too one-sidedly a product of theological reasoning after the manner of the Paul of Holsten half a century ago. Schweitzer has done a good work in protesting vigorously against the modern vogue of discounting the theologian in Paul and making overmuch of the prophet, the missionary, the organizer, the religious enthusiast, a fault so conspicuous in the works of Deissmann and Weinel and other writers of this type. The protest is also in place against the tendency of an earlier date, but which still survives, of making the whole content of the Apostle's teaching spring out of the experience of the Damascus-vision, by means of psychological evolution. There is, however, danger of running into the opposite extreme, that of deriving the system of the Apostle from a purely intellectual source and detaching it from his religious life-



experience. Both extremes to our mind are in conflict with the Apostle's own statements. To name but one instance, in view of Gal. ii. 19, 20 we should not like to subscribe to the author's statement (p. 105) that Paul always treats the abolition of the law as a logical conclusion, not as a psychological experience. It is much more natural to assume that in Paul, as always, the logic of doctrinal thinking and the experience of practical religion have gone hand in hand and mutually fructified each other. And back of both these stood that from which Paul himself derived his whole Gospel as from its ultimate source, the objective revelation from God—a factor with which, we are sorry to say, Schweitzer does not reckon at all.

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GEERHARDUS VOS.

*The International Critical Commentary.* A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Johannine Epistles. By Rev. A. E. BROOKE, B.D., Fellow, Dean and Divinity Lecturer, King's College, Cambridge. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1912. Pp. xc, 242.

Students of the Johannine Epistles who have been accustomed to rely mainly upon Westcott (or Rothe in German), will now wish to see what is said by Mr. R. Law in his *Tests of Life*, 1909, and by Mr. Brooke in his volume in the International Critical series. Both Mr. Law and Mr. Brooke, who follows Häring's analysis, find the key to the interpretation and analysis of the First Epistle in the criteria it supplies of true spiritual life or fellowship with God. "These things write I unto you, that ye may know that ye have eternal life." Mr. Law's lectures on the Epistle are a rich mine of homiletical suggestion, while in Mr. Brooke's commentary scholarship and spiritual insight are happily blended.

Mr. Brooke discusses the critical questions growing out of the Epistles (except one) with exemplary thoroughness. He makes an exhaustive, if rather superfluous, argument, *contra* Holtzmann, for identity of authorship of the Gospel and Epistle; discusses the "three heavenly witnesses" in a valuable note; and in an appendix attempts to reconstruct the Old Latin text of the Epistles. Mr. Brooke deliberately avoids the question of authorship which he thinks belongs to the discussion of the Fourth Gospel. He hints, however, his agreement with Harnack in attributing the authorship of both writings to John the "Elder", who lived in Asia Minor and was a pupil of the Apostle John, and in some sense a disciple of the Lord (p. lxxvii). The hypothesis of the two Johns rests upon the Papias fragment, as interpreted by Eusebius, but Eusebius, while suggesting that the "Elder" might have written the Apocalypse, indicated no doubt of the apostolic authorship of the Epistle. We are not convinced that the view of authorship "which leaves the fewest difficulties unsolved" is that which substitutes for the Apostle his mysterious *alter ego* of the same name, who was with him alike in Palestine and in Asia Minor, shared in a degree his authority and published the substance of his teaching, and yet merged his personality in that of the Apostle so completely that while hiding in a sense behind the latter he never

mentioned his name. A fuller discussion of the subject would have been welcomed.

Mr. Brooke needs to make no apology for the prominence he gives, in spite of the limitation of a critical commentary, to matters of edification. He believes that no other method of interpreting the Johannine Epistles is scientific or even possible. It is unfortunate that the general plan of the New Testament volumes of the International Critical Commentary did not include the printing of the Greek text.

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*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians.* By JAMES EVERETT FRAME, Professor of Biblical Theology, Union Theological Seminary, New York. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. 1912. Pp. ix, 326.

Four important commentaries on the Thessalonian Epistles have appeared within the last six years: the commentaries of Milligan in Great Britain (1908), of von Dobschütz (1909) and Dibelius (1911) in Germany, and finally the present work of Professor Frame in America. Scarcely any portion of the New Testament has received more attention from the commentators. But despite the labors of others, Professor Frame has undoubtedly brought a real enrichment of the exegetical literature. His commentary, it is true, lacks the special interest which attaches to the work of Professor Milligan, which, as was pointed out in *PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL REVIEW*, vol. vii, 1909, pp. 126-131, represented the first systematic attempt to apply the new knowledge derived from papyri and inscriptions to the exegesis of a continuous portion of the New Testament. Professor Frame is fully aware of the value of the new materials, and employs them with good effect. But for the most part, he is dependent in this field upon the researches of Deissmann and others. His use of the papyri, therefore, though thoroughly adequate, does not constitute a distinctive feature of his work. But, if a paradox may be permitted, it is just the absence of distinctive features that constitutes the peculiar excellence of the present commentary. Professor Frame has no particular thesis to defend, and just for that reason has been able to employ the available materials with the greater fairness and circumspection.

In accordance with the general tendency of recent investigation, Professor Frame defends both epistles as genuine works of Paul. The first epistle no longer requires elaborate defence. With regard to the second epistle, Professor Frame classifies the chief difficulties under two heads: (1) the alleged contradiction between the eschatology of the second epistle and the eschatology of the first, and (2) the close literary relation between the two epistles. Like most investigators since Wrede, Professor Frame regards the second of these two difficulties as the more serious. After an instructive review of the progress of criticism (pp. 40-43), he discusses the two difficulties

separately, and then proceeds (pp. 51-53) to point out (admirably) the counter difficulties which beset the hypothesis of forgery.

In discussing the occasion of the epistles, Professor Frame distinguishes three classes among the Thessalonian Christians: (1) "the weak", who had not quite abandoned definitely enough their former pagan conception of sexual immorality as a matter of indifference, (2) "the faint-hearted", "who were anxious not only about the death of their friends but also about their own salvation", and (3) "the idle brethren". All three classes are admonished in the first epistle; in the second, only the last two classes appear. With regard to this classification, as applied in detail to the material of the epistles, the reviewer must confess some of the doubt which besets any attempt at precise reconstruction of circumstances simply from the epistles to which they gave rise. But the observations of Professor Frame are both acute and cautious.

The discussion of the eschatological passage in 2 Thessalonians is characterized by a wise caution. The political interpretation of the *ἄνθρωπος* is rejected, but on the other hand the commentator is not yet prepared to accept without question the views of Bousset with regard to the traditional origin of the Pauline eschatology.

The details of exegesis allow room for many differences of opinion. But with regard to the present commentary the differences of opinion can only rarely amount to definite contradiction. Such a rare case is to be found in connection with 2 Thess. i. 11. There Professor Frame interprets the *καί* before *προσενχόμεθα* as joining the writer of the epistle with the recipients—"we too as well as you pray". That interpretation may fairly be pronounced linguistically impossible. It would be correct only if an *ἡμεῖς* stood after *καί* as in 1 Thess. ii. 13 (a passage which Professor Frame compares). Such lapses are in the present commentary extraordinarily rare.

With the background of Professor Frame's thinking with regard to Paul, the reviewer is in certain important respects in disagreement—for example, with regard to the authorship of the Pastoral Epistles and with regard to the character of the early Christian expectation of the Parousia. But these questions emerge for the most part only incidentally, and do not affect the admirable sanity of the strictly exegetical work. The method of the commentary is deserving of especial praise. The author has succeeded in combining unusual richness of reference to the exegetical literature with satisfactory clearness in the expression of his own opinions. No careful student of Professor Frame's commentary can fail to receive genuine instruction.

Princeton.

J. GRESHAM MACHEN.

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## SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY

*The Christian Doctrine of Man.* By H. WHEELER ROBINSON, M.A.,  
Tutor in Rawdon College, Sometime Senior Kennicott Scholar in

the University of Oxford. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1911. Post 8vo; pp. x, 365. Indexes.

The task which Mr. Robinson has set before himself, put briefly, is the restatement in modern terms of the essential features of Christian anthropology. He occupies, however, the very modern standpoint which conceives everything as in a flux. What the Christian doctrine of man is, is therefore not a fixed thing but an ever changing—perhaps Mr. Robinson would prefer to say, an ever developing—quantity. It must be conceived as process, and studied as history. Even “its statement in terms of to-day can be no more than a cross-section of this continuous development” (p. 2). There is no way of stopping the flow and obtaining once for all a precipitate. We can tell what Christian men used to think about man,—what the writers of the New Testament thought, and how, standing on the shoulders of the writers of the Old Testament, they came to think it; what the Christian men of any subsequent age thought and how, standing on the shoulders of the preceding ages, they came to think it. We can tell what the Christian men of to-day think, and how, in the midst of the influences which play upon them they have come to think it. But who can tell what the Christian man of to-morrow will think? And above all who can isolate from the steadily flowing stream, we will not merely say the constant elements, the elements which, up to to-day, have remained characteristic of Christian thought, but the permanent elements, the elements which will always remain characteristic of Christian thought? The weakness of the genetic method to which Mr. Robinson commits himself is revealed in such questions. We may speak of the Christian doctrine of man “beginning historically with the life and teaching of Jesus Christ”; we may represent the whole subsequent historical development as but “the record of the germination and growth of the seed sown by Jesus Christ”; we may declare that it has never “lost its vital continuity with Him who is its source”; we may praise it for its power to slough off what is outworn and to assimilate new elements which in the enlarging knowledge of the increasing years present themselves to it. But what we cannot glaze is that we have on this ground lost all right to speak of any such thing as the Christian doctrine of man. There have already been many doctrines of man held temporarily by Christians, and for aught we know there will be many more. Unless we can lay our hands upon a continuous teaching characteristic of all who are Christians, bearing the mark not only of constancy so far, but of permanency for ever, it is idle to talk about “the Christian doctrine of man”. There is no such thing.

What is needed to give us a really Christian doctrine of man is obviously an authoritative standard of Christian doctrine. And Mr. Robinson has no such authoritative standard of Christian doctrine. The only authority which he ultimately recognizes is just his own personal decisions as to what were right and fitting (pp. 273-4). If we say, with our fathers, that the Scriptures are authoritative, clearly their authority rests on the inspiration of their writers, and the inspira-



tion of their writers is reducible to "the Christian experience created in them by the Spirit of God". But we have Christian experience as well as they and from the same source. "The potential authority of the Scriptures becomes actual over us only through the continuity of this experience within us, as mediated by the historic society." That is to say, we company with Christians; by our association with them a Christian experience is begotten in us which we refer to the Spirit of God; we see this same Christian experiences reflected in the Scriptures; and so far, but only so far, we recognize them as authoritative. This, Mr. Robinson speaks of as a "unity of the historical and individual consciousness" which "goes back", he declares, "at last to the Spirit of God, on which both depend". Thus he transmutes the "Schriftprinzip" of the fathers into a "Geistprinzip", but a "Geistprinzip" which reduces at last to a mere "Selbstprinzip". For he proceeds: "This is the religious expression of what is more than a pragmatic appeal to consciousness; we may put it philosophically by saying that the only rational appeal to authority is ultimately an appeal to intrinsic truth". Whatever manifests itself to us as intrinsically true we accept as true. It is its self-evidencing quality which authenticates it to us. This is the language of Lessing and the old Rationalism. Only, by it, they reduced what could be accepted as true to rational axioms. Mr. Robinson does not wish to do that. "We appeal," he says, "to the intrinsic truth, the self-evidencing credibility of the experience which runs through Bible, and Church, and the life of the Christian man to-day." There is something else, in his view, in man, the source of sound convictions of truth, besides the bare rational faculty: but there is no other source of sound convictions of truth than what is in man. We accept as true only what evinces itself to us, being what we are, as true on intrinsic grounds: only what is self-evident to us. The Scriptures have no authority to us; their contents are accepted by us only so far as they accredit themselves to us on intrinsic grounds. Even the testimony of Jesus is without authority to us. This does not mean that we have no reverence for Jesus or fail to recognize His uniqueness among men. "We may emphasize as we may, and ought, the closeness of His relation to the ideals of Israel, the intimate interweaving of His thought as well as His life with all the tendencies of His time, we may recognize the limitations to His power in the defeat of His hopes for Israel, and the limitations to His knowledge, as in the eschatological outlook of some at least of the discourses ascribed to Him in the Synoptic Gospels; the fact remains that there is a uniqueness in His own consciousness of Himself, in the historic presentation of His personality in the New Testament, and in His influence on the subsequent centuries of human life, that forbids us to regard Him as simply one of ourselves" (p. 279). It only means that whatever we think of Him, we cannot always think well of what He teaches us, and therefore cannot accept His deliverances as authoritative enunciations of truth. "Not only did the Light of the World shine first on Semitic faces, and flash its glory to us from the jewels of Oriental parable



and paradox, but in the humility of the Incarnation, the divine Thought was moulded to the pattern of Jewish conceptions. In particular, the eschatology of the Gospels is distinctively Jewish, and its influence on Christian thought has been out of all proportion to the worth of its forms. Scientific conceptions of the world and of the limits of its material destiny have replaced the panorama of Jewish apocalypse in the modern man's imaginative forecasts; the ultimate questions lie beyond both modern and ancient forms" (p. 80). We may manage perhaps to believe in Jesus; we cannot always believe Him. We have no authoritative guide to truth except our own personal judgment, depending, as Mr. Robinson would add, on the Spirit of God.

When Mr. Robinson begins his book on *The Christian Doctrine of Man* with two chapters on "The Old Testament Doctrine of Man" and "The New Testament Doctrine of Man" respectively, we must understand, therefore, that he is not seeking and finding in the Old and New Testaments a doctrine of man which shall be normative for Christian thought, but only writing the first two chapters of the history of Christian thought concerning man,—tracing its roots in Hebrew soil, observing its first blades as they shoot up from that soil in the teaching of Jesus and His first disciples. He is even at pains to warn us in the opening words of the former of these chapters not to fancy we can get authoritative guidance for our thinking from the data with which it deals. "The object of this chapter," he says, (p. 4), "is to collect and interpret the evidence afforded by the Old Testament as to the ideas of human personality current amongst the Hebrew (or Jewish) people. It is customary to refer to the result as 'The Old Testament Doctrine of Man', and the custom is here retained for the sake of convenience; but it must not be supposed that any formal statement of belief on these matters is contained in the literature itself, much less that the title is intended to suggest that the results of our inquiry are necessarily binding for Christian faith". A much greater wrong is done to the Old Testament, however, by this method of approaching it than merely voiding it of its authority. It does not profess to be a record of the ideas current among the Hebrew (or Jewish) people. It professes to contain a revelation from God to the Hebrew (or Jewish) people. And though of course much can be learned from it of the ideas current among the Hebrew (or Jewish) people, this is from its own point of view merely incidental, while its main communications are from quite another source. To lump both elements of its contents together as ideas current among the Hebrew (or Jewish) people is already to discredit the Old Testament in its most fundamental assertions. Mr. Robinson does it, however, an even greater wrong than this. He insists, not only on interpreting it "on the plane of 'natural' development", but actually on assimilating its teaching (against its own loudest protest, since Israel proclaims itself a unique nation in contrast with heathen nations) to that of ethnic thought. The euphemistic way in which he expresses this fell purpose to stifle all that is unique in the Old Testament is this: "The Bible is

here studied simply as ancient literature, and simply in the light of ancient thought." The meaning of this is that the start is taken from "primitive thought" as that thought is ascertained by the anthropologists in their study of so-called "primitive peoples", and the Old Testament is forced into its grooves. Thus, if the Old Testament tells us that God, having formed man of the dust of the ground, "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life and man became a living soul", we are at once told that we have here "the common idea of the breath-soul which is so frequent in animistic thought, and indeed provides a name for animism (Latin, *anima*)" (p. 15). If the solidarity of the human race is assumed in the Old Testament, we are told that we meet here only that idea of "corporate personality" which is so widespread an item of "primitive psychology" (pp. 8,27 etc.). If the Old Testament proclaims the great fact that the Spirit of God acts immediately upon the spirit of man, we are reminded of "the ancient conception of the accessibility of personality to all manner of external influences, not exercised through the natural sense organs", and are asked to think of "telepathic powers" ascribed to all, of "the phenomena of fetishism and totemism, demonology and witchcraft, of a vast world of possible outside influences extending (for the Hebrew) right up to the Spirit of God" (p. 7; cf. p. 10). The interpretation of the Old Testament, in this sense, "simply in the light of ancient thought" means nothing less than the degradation of the Old Testament; and we cannot wonder that when after such evisceration of its teaching the contributions of the Old Testament to dogmatic thought come to be summed up (pp. 54-60) little is left but to deny that it supplies any basis for the doctrines of the universality of sin, inborn sinfulness or a racial fall.

The New Testament is as little authoritative for Mr. Robinson as the Old Testament. But he shows himself, nevertheless, deeply interested in its correct exegesis, and expounds its teaching under the three rubrics of the Synoptic Gospels, the Pauline Epistles, and the Johannine writings, far beyond the direct needs of his special topic. With many of his exegetical findings we find ourselves in full accord: many of them seem to us, on the other hand, perverse and the outgrowth of zeal, say, to be rid of such doctrines as those of the fall of the race in Adam, original sin, and what Mr. Robinson calls "total depravity", under the impression apparently that by that term man is declared to be as bad as he can be. "Jesus," he tells us, "has no concern in tracing sin back beyond the will of the individual, but short of that He will in no case stop" (p. 94). He does not mean that Jesus finds sin only in the actual volition, as distinguished from the disposition of the heart: he recognizes that Jesus always carries sin "back past the external act to the inward disposition". He only means that Jesus says nothing of a fall in Adam. He does not even admit that Paul does. Speaking of Rom. v. 12-21, he remarks: "The present passage certainly supplies no clear proof that he did, or exegetes would not be so divided as they are on this crucial point of exegesis" (p. 119). Paul, he strongly contends, teaches in Rom. vii. 7-5 the "doctrine of the fall of

each man through the weakness of his physical nature", and takes "no account of the pseudo-historic Adam other than is implied in the fact that he was the first to fall in this way". Making thus every man the Adam of his own soul, we can hardly suppose him to ascribe in Rom. 5:12-21 any further direct influence of "Adam's act upon racial sin than belongs externally to the example and unique place in history of that act" (p. 120). The exegesis of this latter passage is very sinuous; and as a result Paul is made out a pure Pelagian. At least, however, he is allowed to teach the universality of sin as is Jesus before him; and that should have protected Mr. Robinson from certain remarks on Lk. xiii. 1-5: "Jesus expressly refuses to allow any inference to be drawn from a calamity to the guilt of the sufferer" (p. 95); and Jno. ix. 2-3: "It should be noted that Christ explicitly rejects the view that present suffering is necessarily the punishment of sin" (p. 139); generalized on another and equally mistaken basis: "Suffering, as the Book of Job has taught us, does not necessarily imply sin; but sin must necessarily imply suffering" (p. 310). The truth is that what we are taught by these passages is only that it is not possible for us to point out the particular ground of any particular instance of suffering: that sin does not underlie all suffering they do not in the least suggest. Side by side with his difficulties with "total depravity" (some very remarkable remarks upon Jesus' teaching with regard to it are to be found on p. 93), Mr. Robinson's difficulties with the Biblical doctrine of predestination should be mentioned,—seeing that these difficulties appear also to root in his extreme zeal for human "freedom". It should not fail to be observed that he is already compelled to recognize the complete sovereignty of God as the Old Testament view (p. 63)—a recognition not really broken by the attempt to set up "two conditioning facts", in the goodness of God and the freedom of man (p. 62). When he reaches Paul he is still harping on the "double truth" of the grace of God and the freedom of man, with a view to leaving an impression that though Paul never even saw that they needed reconciling, and much less suggests any reconciliation of them, they are yet wholly irreconcilable. In Mr. Robinson's own mind (surely not in Paul's) there is nothing for it but that the divine factor should give way to the human.

The history of the Christian doctrine of man subsequently to the New Testament is traced in the chapters bearing respectively the titles of "Dogmatic Anthropology" and "The Contributions of Post-Reformation Science and Thought". The former of these traces the history through the Reformation period, the latter thence to our own day. The discussions of the former period are presented as dominated by the contrast between grace and free-will; those of the latter by the problem of personality. Both chapters are ably written and are full of interesting detail. The discussion of the Augustinian-Pelagian debate is particularly well-done; and the exposition of the revived Augustinianism of the Reformers is clear and decisive. It is wrong, however, to say that the doctrine of "immediate imputation" comes into Protestant theology late. It is Zwingli's doctrine, the formal characterization of which (p. 223) is misleading: it is only the guilt of "inherited"

corruption, not "the guilt of Adam's first sin" which Zwingli doubts. It is wrong again to speak of Calvin's doctrine of predestination as "supra-lapsarian"; Calvin was explicitly infra-lapsarian. But the trouble here lies doubtless in the wide-spread misapprehension of the meaning of these terms. It is absurd, of course, to repeat from Fairbairn that "Calvin was as pure, though not as conscious and consistent, a Pantheist as Spinoza": Calvin's theism was exceptionally pure and conscious. And it is equally absurd to repeat the inconsiderate charge against Calvin of Scotist elements of thought; Calvin stood, in his thought of God, at the opposite extremity from Scotism. We do not know what to make of a clause like this: "Pre-scientific supernaturalism, so far as it subordinated the events of Nature to the control of God, glorified divine wilfulness and human self-importance" (p. 238). Surely no one will deny that "the events of Nature" "are subordinated to the control of God": and surely that God controls "the events of Nature" does not carry with it the necessity of "wilfulness" on His part. If what is meant is merely that before the age of "the reign of law" men ventured to believe that God would intervene in the affairs of the world for the benefit of His people, why, it is to be said, that there is every warrant in Scripture and Reason—and surely in "Christian Experience"—for believing that yet, and that in any event the denial of it is expressed in unnecessarily violent terms. We have gained immensely, of course, from the growth of scientific knowledge and in nothing more than in the deeper conception of the orderliness of the world which it has brought us; but this gain would be dearly bought if it separated us further from God, and left us in the hands rather of a machine. To be sure that all the events of Nature, and of History as well, are under the direct control of God cannot give us a "piecemeal" and "erratic" world. Law and God are not contradictory and if they were, it were better to choose God than Law for our portion. The chief interest in this chapter culminates, however, in the discussion of "evolution", which enters in during this period as a factor of importance in man's thought of man. The current ineptitudes in dealing with this subject reappear here. We cannot speak of evolution as relating "simply to the method of man's creation" (p. 242): evolution cannot *create*,—it presents a substitute for creation, and undertakes to show us how man may come into being without being created, by just, as Topsy says, "growing". Nor can we follow when we are bidden to look forward to further evolution with hope for ourselves, especially when this is connected with some thought of personal immortality (pp. 243-4). The doctrine of evolution has no hopeful message for us concerning our individual future; it teaches us to look not beyond death but beyond ourselves for what is more nearly to approach the longed-for goal. But of this we shall have something to say later.

The volume not only closes but culminates in its last chapter, for which we may believe the whole was written. It is entitled, "The Christian Doctrine of Man in Relation to Current Thought"; but what it is is the systematic statement "in modern terms" of what the writer



believes to be "the essential features of Christian anthropology" (p. 344). In the light of the whole history outlined in the preceding pages, he now essays to gather up what a Christian man finds himself permitted by modern thought to think of man. He sums it all up in five propositions: man has worth to God as spiritual personality; he is an individual self, possessing moral freedom and responsibility; sin is that which ought not to be; man is dependent on divine aid for the realization of spiritual possibilities; personal development must be defined in terms of social relationship. Personality, Freedom, Sin, Society—these are the topics which engage attention; and the interacting factors which determine conclusions are fundamentally the doctrines of evolution on the one hand, and of human autonomy on the other. Mr. Robinson's acceptance of the doctrine of evolution is quite decided and goes the whole way; but it can scarcely be said to be without misgivings. He apparently rejoices to be able to say that, "modern views of the Bible and of the origin of the race remove Adam's sin from the data of the problem", say, of the universality of sin (p. 269), but he is still compelled to add that evolution "still leaves us with an unsolved mystery of iniquity", which, he holds, "throws us back on personal freedom" (p. 302). He will not admit indeed that any other explanation of the universal sinfulness which our observation informs us of is tolerable than just that of personal freedom. "The search for explanation other than freedom, springs from an inadequate view of personality" (p. 304). But Mr. Robinson knows as well as we do that freedom will not account for universality of action: he finds his exit from the difficulty as others do—by denying sin to be sin and affirming that only that is sin which is "freely" done by man. "The general conclusion is that whilst we may speak of the whole mass of evil tendencies in the race, transmitted from one generation to another by heredity, organic and social, as alien to the divine purpose for man, we must not call it sin in the full sense, since apart from personal freedom appropriating it, it lacks the essential element of guilt. . . . Admittedly, this view of the facts leaves unexplained the universality of sin; yet if there be such a thing as real freedom, how can we ever go behind it, without denying its reality?" (pp. 306-307).

This is not all, however, which Mr. Robinson is willing to sacrifice to his unreasonable theory of freedom. To make room for it he is ready to curtail the omnipotence of God and His universal providence. God must have "limited Himself" when He created "finite personalities, possessing moral freedom" (pp. 334 ff.); and the Divine Providence, while no doubt its "general purpose" shall be realized, must "leave room for the contingency which is a mark of human action" (p. 335). The predestination which lies behind particular Providence is of course also denied, but strangely enough a particular foreknowledge is still allowed to God, on the remarkable ground that what God foreknows is unknown to us and thus cannot fetter our choice. "Thus there is full scope for human contingency; for divine foreknowledge does not enter as an operative force into our volitional activity" (p. 337). How foreknowledge differs in this from fore-



ordination is not explained to us. What God has foreordained is certainly as hidden from us as what He foreknows: and His foreordinations therefore enter as little as His foreknowledge as operative factors into our volitional activity. Of course we shall infallibly choose what God has foreordained that we shall choose. But no less shall we infallibly choose what He has foreknown that we shall choose: otherwise it could not be *foreknown*. The choice is as certain in the one case as the other; and the choice is as free in the one case as the other. Of course Mr. Robinson is not to be expected to be affected by such considerations. He is not even affected by the fully recognized fact that the quality of freedom which he demands for moral responsibility cannot be justified on psychological analysis (p. 292),—so that he is compelled to say, "On the level of psychological analysis; freedom"—that is such a "freedom" as he demands,—"seems impossible": though he adds, "On the level of moral personality, freedom"—that is this kind of "freedom" which he has in mind,—"is essential". We have no reason to believe this last assertion, however, except on the authority of its assertion. The plain fact is that it demands a kind of freedom for the grounding of moral responsibility which not only does not exist, but is not moral at all. God surely is a moral personality and immensely responsible; but He certainly does not possess a kind of "freedom" by virtue of which He may choose independently of the "set" of His nature. It is absurd to say we have no moral responsibility, unless we have equal power to choose as we choose and to choose as we do not choose.

The difficulties of the evolutionary scheme, taken as a complete account of the universe, seem to culminate in such facts as these: the presence among existences of living beings, among living beings of persons, among persons of the divine-man, Jesus Christ. If evolution itself is called on to give an account of these things, we must posit life as latent in the non-living, personality as latent in the impersonal, deity as latent in the undivine. The alternative is to suppose that life, personality, the divine are introduced from without—and that is to break away from the evolutionary principle as the sole organon of explanation. We are not quite sure that Mr. Robinson preserves throughout his discussions complete consistency in this matter. But ordinarily at least he takes his courage in his hands and goes the whole way with the evolutionary demands. We may feel considerable satisfaction as we begin to read this sentence (p. 278): "Whilst all personality is dependent on evolution for the clay of its physical manifestation, all personality must transcend the course of such physical evolution by the inbreathed breath of spiritual life." So far, it looks as if Mr. Robinson intended to allow for an intrusion from without at the point of the production of personality. But our satisfaction is at once dashed by the addition of this closing clause: "though that breath of God go back to the very beginnings of life." The "breath of God" producing spiritual life was then, according to him, already present, though no doubt only latently present,

through the whole series of non-personal living-beings. And there is no reason for stopping at the beginnings of life: it must have been equally present, though only latently present, also in the non-living existences that lie behind life. Similarly, with reference to Jesus Christ, we read (pp. 279-280): "From such conceptions, it is not far to the recognition of all human personality as the partial manifestation of the preëxistent Son of God, *i.e.*, the supra-naturalistic element we have recognized in all personality is spiritually akin to the one transcendent manifestation in Jesus Christ." And again (p. 280): "If it be asked how such an Incarnation be conceivable in connection with the acceptance of evolution, the answer is not an appeal to supernatural birth (*necessary* to Augustinianism only), but to the presence of personality in and amid the workings of natural law in the case of every man." The Incarnation is, then, not a new beginning except in the sense that every new species is a new beginning; it is a new form taken on by what is old—actually present in the evolving stuff beforehand. Accordingly Mr. Robinson quotes here with evident emphasis on the comparison made, Illingworth's words (*Lux Mundi*, ed. 1904, p. 152), to the effect that the coming of Christ "introduced a new species into the world—a Divine man transcending past humanity, as humanity transcended the rest of the animal creation, and communicating His vital energy by a spiritual process to subsequent generations of men." If we read Mr. Robinson aright here, then, he would posit the divinity which was "brought out" in Jesus as already latent in all personality, in all living beings, in the non-living existences which lie back of all. Jesus Christ is not an intrusion of the Divine into the human race; he is merely a modified man, as man is a modified beast, and a beast is a modified thing. All that is patent in Him was latent beforehand not only in us, but in the amoeba and in the sea-water. Such a theory has express affinities with Manichæism and Gnosticism, with their extraction of the spiritual and the divine from entanglement with matter; it brings into clear view the Pantheistic background of the evolutionary philosophy (as lucidly expressed by, say, Le Conte); but it is not recognizable as Christian.

Another difficulty which is thrust upon Mr. Robinson by his evolutionism—we have already adverted to it briefly—concerns the outlook for the future. Mr. Robinson strenuously argues for personal immortality,—that is for the immortality of the soul, for, being rather of Plato than of Paul, he has doubts of resurrection; is not "death the natural fate of the bodily organism"? He cannot be content "with an ultimate philosophy which does not carry up all these values and personality itself into God as their home and source and hope" (p. 287). But on evolutionary ground, is this reasonable? Is it even to be desired? From the evolutionary point of view Christ is a new species, as different from present humanity as humanity is different from the beast. From Him as starting point a new kind may come into being, a new kind which after a while (it did not happen so with Christ) may win to itself deathlessness. But what of those

who lived before this new species had its birth? What of those who have lived since it made its appearance in the world, but have manifestly fallen behind it in the qualities of the new life? What of all mankind up to to-day, no one individual of whom has been quite a Christ? We might as well confess it frankly,—evolution has no hope to hold out for personal immortality. It bids us look forward to an ever bettering race not to an ever bettering individual. It tells us to see in the individual a stepping stone to a higher individual to come, built up upon its ruins in the survival of the fittest. How can it promise eternal survival to the unfit? And to what of the unfit will it promise it? If we are to project into eternity the unripe to abide forever, instead of seeing an ever-increasing succession of the riper and yet riper,—how far down the scale of unripeness does immortality extend? If the merely personal—not yet the divine—has in it the power of an endless life, why not also the merely living—not yet personal? Is not the logic of the matter shut up to this alternative: since from the bottom up all that is to come is latent in the evolving stuff, and hidden in the amoeba itself (or the clod, for the matter of that) there already exists, although not yet manifested, all the divinity that is in the Christ,—all is immortal and “the spirit” that is in every form that ever existed shall live on forever; or else the immortality which crowns all is not attained until the end of the process is reached—which is not yet? We must not permit the fundamental fact of the evolutionary principle to pass out of sight, that the goal to which all tends is not to be found in the future of the individual, but in the successors of the individual. On an evolutionary basis, immortality must mean the persistence of the evolving stuff in every higher manifestation, and cannot mean the persistence of the unripe individual itself. When Mr. Robinson proclaims then the immortality of the soul, and of all souls, and indeed the ultimate perfection of every soul—for Mr. Robinson would fain “trust the larger hope” and believe in the ultimate blessedness of all (p. 338)—he is drawing his faith and his high hopes from some other than an evolutionary fountain. And to be perfectly frank we do not see that Mr. Robinson has left himself any fountain from which he can draw them. Evolution, plus the autonomy of man, with some sense of wrong-doing and ill-desert and a more or less vague feeling of the goodness of God, constitute but a poor basis for any eschatology. In point of fact we cannot form any sure expectation of what is in store for us, unless God has told us of it. Where no authoritative revelation of God is allowed, no express eschatology is attainable.

*Princeton.*

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

*Freedom and Authority in Religion.* By EDGAR YOUNG MULLINS, D.D., LL.D. President and Professor of Theology in The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky. Philadelphia: The Griffith & Rowland Press. 1913. Pp. 410.

The aim of this volume is to vindicate an objective authority in

religious knowledge, as against all purely subjective theories, and at the same time to conserve the idea of man's free acquiescence in the truth, as against the Roman Catholic conception of authority and implicit faith.

Without following the author through all the details of the several chapters, we may summarize his conclusions as follows:—he shows that there are two spheres of knowledge, the scientific and the religious. We know the mechanical universe of law and energy. This is the sphere of natural science. We have also a knowledge of a "supra-mechanical" and "supra-scientific" realm of personal relationships, and in particular of a personal fellowship between God and man in the religious sphere. Hence the term "science" must either expand in meaning to include more than one criterion of truth, or else it must cease to be a term inclusive of all knowledge, and become a technical term denoting only a single form of knowledge as in the exact sciences.

The religious life and experience of man contains and involves a real knowledge, because in it man is brought into direct contact with a sphere of reality to which he responds with his whole nature, not merely with his intellect or reason. When the totality of man's experience and knowledge is thus recognized, two "tyrannies", growing out of the abuse of two forms of freedom, will cease. The two forms of freedom are the scientific and the religious, and the two forms of tyranny are those of science and of religion. Science is the foe of freedom when it dogmatically denies man's intercourse with the spiritual universe, and religion is the foe of freedom when it seeks to trammel science in the study of Nature. God's method with the human race recognizes man's freedom, but His method varies with the form of human development aimed at. Religion calls for self-revelation on God's part, because it involves truth concerning God; and this alone can call forth man's free response to God. This truth is more than a mere revelation to man's intellect. It embraces the entire redemptive activity of God in history, and appeals to the whole man.

Out of this conception of religious knowledge the rise of authority in religion is inevitable. By the operation of fundamental psychological and social laws, truth achieved by man or disclosed to man, becomes objectified in authoritative forms which condition his further advancement. This objective and authoritative truth is man's sole means of adjusting himself to his physical and spiritual environment. Consequently subjectivism breaks down entirely as the sole criterion of any form of truth. Authoritative truth is the response of the universe to man's search and experience of it.

Religion is a personal relationship between God and man. Religious authority, therefore, is the authority of the religious object, the personal God. It is an authority which rests on God, and which comes to us through religious experience. But this kind of authority includes the idea of authoritative truth, since religious experience involves a knowledge of God. The authority of such knowledge is not merely intellectualistic in character, it is rather "experimental" arising out of



our contact with God. It does not, however, grow out of our individual experience, but has become objectified in Christ the revealer of God, and in the Bible which is the "literary expression of living experience", the experience of those who came into contact with Christ. Being the expression of the religious life of the writers under the influence of God's Spirit, the Bible is adapted to reproduce that experience in us. Dr. Mullins, however, asserts that the Bible contains also a direct supernatural revelation of truth from God to man to which the writers of the Biblical books freely responded. This would seem to introduce a different conception of the Nature of revelation and authority than the one above outlined. In point of fact Dr. Mullins never succeeds in reaching an adjustment of these two conceptions of authority. We shall dwell more at length upon this presently.

In this self-revelation to man, God disclosed Himself finally and fully in Jesus Christ. His authority over us is one of "moral and spiritual preëminence." It is not the authority of a merely human Christ, or that of a mere historical portrait of Christ, but of the ever-living divine Christ of the New Testament. Historical criticism has failed to eliminate this Christ from history or to naturalize Him, and it is this Christ to whom the New Testament organs of revelation give their free religious response.

This, in briefest outline, is the course of Dr. Mullins' argument. It would be interesting to follow him through his exposition and criticism of the different world-views. He gives this to expose the naturalistic motive of that type of criticism which would naturalize Jesus, and also to ground his own rejection of an "intellectualistic" criterion of truth. It would also be interesting to follow through his criticism of "subjectivism" in its representatives of various types. His exposition is clear, and his criticism often acute and to the point. Enough has been said, however, to set forth the substance of his thought in outline, and we shall pass at once to a few remarks by way of estimating the view of authority in religious knowledge and Christian truth above set forth.

To begin with, Dr. Mullins has not brought out with sufficient clearness the real crux of the question as to the nature and seat of authority in our knowledge of Christian truth as distinguished from other forms of authority. All truth has an authority objective to the individual. The question here is whether the authority is internal or external in reference to mankind, not whether or not it is external to the individual. Dr. Mullins does not forget this. In fact his aim is to establish an "external authority", in the above sense, in religious knowledge. He does not succeed in this because he nowhere makes adequate use of the idea of a supernatural revelation, the reality of which he freely admits. If God has spoken to man through Prophets and Apostles, this truth is authoritative to us for precisely this reason. The fact that this truth found a response in the experience of an Apostle is not the ultimate ground of its authority any more than is the response to it which I may find in my experience.

It follows, moreover, from the want of clearness on the above men-



tioned point, that there is to be found here no clear determination of the relation of revelation to Christian experience, and we find two different conceptions of the nature of revelation standing side by side. Christian experience is conditioned by the Christian revelation. This, Dr. Mullins not only admits but strongly asserts. Christ is God's revelation to man. But what Christ, we ask. Dr. Mullins rejects Herrmann's Christ and Bousset's Christ. His Christ is determined by the New Testament interpretation of Jesus. Christian experience responds to this Christ. But here is, nevertheless, an authoritative truth objectively given which is accepted on external authority, the authority of the Bible as a teacher of doctrine, and which is witnessed to by Christian experience. Thus Dr. Mullins really admits an idea of revelation and authority which appears to be indistinguishable from the "intellectualistic" conception which he seeks to reject. Christian experience no doubt witnesses to the Christian revelation, but it does not become a part of it, nor is it the ultimate ground of authority.

In consequence of this, Dr. Mullins' view of the authority of the Bible is inadequate. He rejects the view that the Scripture is only of value in arousing in man a spiritual life out of which doctrine springs. He will not even go so far with the "experiential theologians" as to assert that the Bible doctrines are authoritative because they find a response in our experience. He regards the Bible as the literary expression of the religious life of its authors, and as such authoritative for us. But this will not adequately ground the absolute authority which Dr. Mullins claims for Scripture. If Christian experience is the ultimate ground of authority in religious knowledge, so far as experience is concerned, my experience can never be superseded by the experience of another, be he Prophet or Apostle, just because immediacy is the most essential characteristic of experience. If the Bible contains a supernatural revelation from God to man, as Dr. Mullins admits, this fact constitutes the ultimate ground of its authority for us. That the Scripture finds a deep response in Christian experience, is one great evidence of its Divine origin, but can never be the ultimate ground of its authority.

There are many points in which we cordially agree with Dr. Mullins, and some others, besides the ones mentioned, in which we differ from him. But enough has been said to give an idea of his view of authority, and to indicate what seems to us the chief defects of the discussion. It is, however, a very suggestive discussion of a great theme.

*Princeton.*

C. W. HODGE.

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## PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

*Presbyterian Law and Usage.* BY BENJAMIN F. BITTINGER, D.D.  
Philadelphia, Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath  
School Work. Morocco, 16mo. Pages 286. \$1.00 postpaid.

This new edition, revised by the Rev. William H. Roberts, D.D.,

LL.D., will be welcomed by all who have been familiar with the helpful hand book prepared by Dr. Bittinger. This Manual of Law and Usage prepared from the standards and acts and deliverances of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. has been of great service to all pastors and preachers who have been acquainted with the work since the early edition of 1888. This edition contains an Appendix prepared by Dr. Roberts in accordance with the deliverances of the General Assembly between the years 1895 and 1912. As is understood, the arrangement of subjects in this manual does not follow the order of our Form of Government, but is alphabetical and therefore it can be used even by those not familiar with the Presbyterian Standards. It includes practically all the information in reference to ecclesiastical law and procedure which is needed by an official of the Presbyterian Church and it is difficult to understand how a presbyter can fully accomplish his duties without the aid of this comprehensive manual.

Princeton, N. J.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

*The Modern Call of Missions.* BY JAMES S. DENNIS, D.D. New York, Fleming H. Revell Company. Cloth, 8vo; pages 341. \$1.50 net.

As is suggested by the sub-title, this volume contains Studies in Some of the Larger Aspects of a Great Enterprise. It is a collection of a number of articles contributed to the press by the author during the past few years. It shows the important bearings of Christian Missions upon human life and social progress and forms a strong apologetic for the missionary enterprise. Some of the titles of the chapters may indicate the scope of the volume: "Missions and Diplomacy", "The Missionary Factor in Colonial History", "Missions and National Evolution", "Commerce and Missions", "Missions in China: A Defense and an Appreciation", "The Lessons of Martyrdom: Its Message to the Church of our Day", "The Appeal of Missions to the Modern Church", "The American Missionary in the near East", "Islam and Christian Missions", "The Strategic Import of Missions in the Levant". The residence of the author for many years in Syria and his careful study of missionary problems, statistics, and results, enable him to write with authority and suggest that his characteristic optimism is founded upon a careful and discerning investigation of facts. Such discussions emphasize anew the urgency of the modern call of missions.

Princeton, N. J.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

*The Man Among the Myrtles.* BY THE REV. JAMES ADAMS, B.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Cloth, 12mo; pages 142. 60 cents net.

This admirable little volume is one of *The Short Course Series* edited by the Rev. James Adams. It discusses the visions of Zechariah and presents the first six chapters of that prophecy in a most vivid and picturesque form. The author reveals his knowledge of the Hebrew

original, and while seeking to make a practical application of the prophet's message he bases his conclusions upon a careful study of the inspired text. While the discussion suggests an indebtedness to the helpful *Hand Book* by Marcus Dods, the presentation is original and can hardly fail to inspire the reader with a new conception of the possibilities of expository preaching.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

*Confessions of a Convert.* BY ROBERT HUGH BENSON. London, New York, Bombay and Calcutta: Longmans, Green & Co. 1913. 12mo. pp. ix, 104.

Monsignor Benson's account of the processes of his conversion from the Anglicanism in which he was bred to "the Roman obedience" must be ranked among the more notable examples of its type of literature. It yields in interest, of course, to the piquant pages of George Tyrrell's *Autobiography*. There is, nevertheless, an odd resemblance between the two cases, in that in neither instance had the religious life of the future convert been marked by fervor. The listlessness with which each had drifted into his position as communicant member of the Church of England, and, in Benson's case, as a priest at her altars; and the apparently insufficient motiving of the change which carried each over to Rome, must strike every reader. With this, however, the resemblance between the two cases ceases. No two personalities could stand more apart from each other. Tyrrell was all moods and quickly found himself at odds with all the authorities to which he subjected himself. Benson apparently loves nothing as he loves authority. In Tyrrell we see individualism run out to its bitter end until indeed he seems at last to have nothing but his own individuality left him. Benson having found an authority which (however others may be compelled to look upon it) is sure of itself, simply basks in it.

In Benson's view Romanism seems almost to resolve itself into bare authority. "Among Catholics," he tells us "emotionalism and even strong sentiment is considerably discouraged, and the heart of religion is thought rather to reside in the adherence and obedience of the will." He is not startled therefore by what he admits to be the relative coldness of Catholic worship. "The result is, of course," he writes, "that persons of a comparatively undeveloped nature will, as Catholics, continue to practice their religion, and sometimes, in ungenerous characters, only the barest minimum of their obligations; whereas as Anglicans they would give it up altogether. It follows that perhaps it may be true to say that the average *emotional* level of a Catholic congregation is lower than the corresponding level of a Protestant congregation, but it is not at all a consequence that therefore Catholics are more formalistic than Protestants. These cold, undeveloped souls—or rather these souls of a naturally undeveloped temperament—adhere to their religion through the sheer motive of obedience, and it is surely remarkable to condemn them on that account! Obedience to the will of God—or even what is merely believed to be the will of God—is

actually more meritorious, not less, when it is unaccompanied by emotional consolations and sensible fervour." The distinction of this scrupulous observance of forms which have no particular significance to the observer under the sheer motive of obedience from formalism (which the dictionary at our elbow as we write defines simply as "scrupulous observance of forms") it may be difficult for some of Monsignor Benson's readers to trace; meanwhile we observe the conceptions of "merit" and "sheer obedience" ruling his view of religion.

Relief from this cold conception of religion is ordinarily found by more fervid souls in circles where it obtains in that individualistic reaction which we know as Mysticism. And oddly enough Monsignor Benson is the author of a Mystical book. It was written, however, in the period of transition before he became a Romanist and he gives us to understand that he no longer approves of it. "It is," he writes, "I think, rather a mischievous book in very distinct ways, since it implies that what I then strove to believe was spiritual intuition—and what is really nothing but imagination—must be an integral element of religious experience; and that 'sight'—or rather personal realization—must be the mode of spiritual belief rather than the simple faith of a soul that receives divine truth from a divine authority. The Catholic atmosphere is, on the other hand, something quite apart from all this. For Catholics it is almost a matter of indifference as to whether or no the soul realizes, in such a manner as to be able to visualize, the facts of revelation and the principles of the spiritual world; the point is that the Will should adhere and the Reason assert." Surely a religion in which the "facts of revelation" are not vividly realized, and "the principles of the spiritual world" are unapprehended, is a poor religion enough: if we were forced to choose between this hard voluntarism and the extremest emotionalism we should feel ourselves in bad case. Meanwhile Benson's diagnosis of the disease under which Anglicanism suffers is not without its shrewdness. "For Anglicans," he writes, "whose theology is fundamentally unreasonable, and amongst whom Authority is, really, non-existent, it becomes natural to place the center of gravity rather in the emotions, and to 'mistake', therefore, as Mrs. Craigie says somewhere, 'the imagination for the soul'. The Reason, for them, must be continually suppressed even in its own legitimate sphere; the Will must be largely self-centered. There remains, then, for them, the experience of feeling only, as the realm in which spirituality operates."

Not the least interesting portions of Monsignor Benson's book—to a Protestant reader at any rate—are the passages in its earlier pages in which he gives us glimpses of men of light and leading in the nineteenth-century Church of England whom we have delighted to honor. There is the picture given us, for instance, of his father, Archbishop Benson, lovingly drawn and very human. We are entertained to learn that, old-fashioned High Churchman that he was, he never "abstained from meat on Friday, or any other day"; had no objections on principle to clergymen marrying (he was married himself!);

and believed that the "innocent party" to a divorce was at liberty to marry again. We think the better of him for that! We share the son's puzzlement however as to how the father could interpret the words "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church" in the Apostles' Creed, and as to how he could conduct himself with respect to the Church of Rome and the several Oriental churches, precisely as he did. But then we wonder more still at Monsignor Benson's attitude in these matters. Then there is the beautiful portrait of Dean Vaughan of Llandaff to whom, despite his pronounced Evangelical views, his High-Church father sent the son to read for Orders; and whose faith, despite his pronounced Evangelical views (Monsignor Benson makes use here of the particle "yet") "was so radiantly strong, his love of the Person of our Lord so intense, that his pupils, I think, whatever their predispositions, were almost unconscious of the lack of other things". "When we were under his spell," Monsignor Benson continues, "it appeared as if no more could be necessary than the love and devotion of our master to God". To our thinking where such "faith" and "love" are, there can not be much that is important lacking.

*Princeton.*

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

*The Church and Social Reform.* By JAMES R. HOWERTON, Professor of Philosophy in Washington and Lee University. With an introduction by REV. J. PRESTON SEARLE, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in New Brunswick Theological Seminary. Fleming H. Revell Company. 75 cents net.

The three lectures which make up the contents of this little book were delivered at the New Brunswick Theological Seminary. The author first speaks of the church in its relation to the Revolutions of the past and then considers the causes of the present social crisis. He finds the chief cause to be the love of money and sees in the rise of great corporations and in the concentration of wealth the forming of conditions under which selfishness is greatly encouraged and power corruptly used.

In the third lecture he carefully discriminates between the duty of the church and that of the State in meeting this crisis and pleads for the preaching of responsibility to Christians to *live* their gospel seven days in the week.

The church is to proclaim the Gospel as one not only for future salvation but also for the present age—the controlling force in the lives of all Christians at all times.

Dr. Howerton has of course pointed out the only cure for the maladies which so greatly afflict our present civilization. He is less happy in his diagnosis and description of these maladies, and a manifest conviction that all great wealth is dishonestly attained and that all large corporations are evil doers underlies all that is said of the present social order. Except for this blemish the lectures can be commended.

*Cranford, N. J.*

GORDON M. RUSSELL.



## GENERAL LITERATURE

*Funk and Wagnalls New Standard Dictionary of the English Language.*

. . . Prepared by more than three hundred and eighty Specialists and other Scholars under the Supervision of ISAAC K. FUNK, D.D., LL.D., Editor-in-Chief, CALVIN THOMAS, LL.D., Consulting Editor, FRANK H. VIZETELLY, Litt.D., LL.D., Managing Editor. Also a Standard History of the World. Complete in one Volume xxxviii + 2916 pp. New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls Company. 1913. 4°. Full morocco, \$30.

The Standard Dictionary has long held its place with the best of the modern encyclopaedic dictionaries, both as to the matter included and as to the treatment of this matter. This new edition is claimed to be "a new creation from cover to cover". This, of course, is rather euphemistic,—eufemistic, the Dictionary would prefer us to write. Its definition of eufemism is: "A figure of speech by which a word or phrase more agreeable or less offensive is substituted for one more accurately expressive of what is meant." This edition is a full revision of that of 1894, with many new terms and much additional matter under old terms. It records and defines over 450,000 terms, has over 3,000 pages and more than 7,000 illustrations. It includes in one alphabet the names of persons and places with the usual matter of a dictionary. This is distinctly desirable. In arriving at its contents 513,000 terms were critically examined and 63,000 of these rejected "as dead, obsolescent, of little or no value, and too rare or specific for a dictionary". There are about 65,000 proper names. The succinct historical statements in connection with the names of places are admirable. The full dates of historical events of importance are given in connection with the places with which they are associated. To indicate pronunciation two keys are used. Each word is respelled first in the Revised Scientific (or National Education Association) Alphabet, and second in what is commonly called the "Text-book Key". This use of the two keys is considered necessary during the period of transition from the second or old key to the new. The publishers, being warm advocates of "simplified" spelling have not neglected the opportunity of furthering the interests of this "reform". The simplified form is given the preference. Thus the word *fizzle*, given first, is defined under *fizl*; *abuse* under *abuze*. This is not true of *surprise*, which is defined under *surprise*. When a word is both a noun and a verb the rule of giving the verb first seems to have been strictly followed; but in the case of such a word as *horse*, it does not seem the proper order, since the noun must have been long in use before it began to be used as a verb. In the matter of definitions the most common meanings are given first. This sensible plan is based on the fact that "the average man (speaking in a general way) goes to a dictionary to find one or more of three things about a word, (1) Its correct spelling; (2) its correct pronunciation; (3) its most common present meaning". The number of illustrative quotations given, 32,000, is large for a one-volume dictionary, and these were selected from 2,000,000 sub-

mitted. And this is an illustration of the extraordinary amount of labor bestowed upon the Dictionary. At the end of the volume there are a list of disputed pronunciations, a list of foreign words and phrases, the population of towns, cities, etc., and the chief world events for each day of the year in order of the calendar. The mechanical features of the work are excellent. A two volume edition will meet the wishes of those who do not care to handle so large a book. On the whole it may be said that at the present time the New Standard is the most comprehensive and satisfactory of the larger English dictionaries. The propriety of including in it certain spellings preferred by a small number of English speaking people may be questioned. There are, properly speaking, that is from a dictionary standpoint, no such words in the English language as *fizl*, *muzl*, *puzl*, and the like.

*Princeton.*

JOSEPH H. DULLES.

Series xxxi Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science under the Direction of the Department of History, Political Economy, and Political Science. No. 1. *The Land System in Maryland 1720-1765*. By CLARENCE P. GOULD, Ph.D., Michael O. Fisher Professor of History in the University of Wooster. Pamph.; pp. xii, 106. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1913. Also No. 2. *The Government of American Trade Unions*. By THEODORE W. GLOCKER, Ph.D., Professor of Economics and Sociology in the University of Tennessee. Pamph.; pp. vii, 242. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1913.

These two scholarly and exhaustive treatises would seem to be well up to the high standard set by the others of these series several of which have been favorably noticed in this Review.

*Princeton.*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

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## PERIODICAL LITERATURE

*American Journal of Theology*, Chicago, October: HENRY P. SMITH, Charles Augustus Briggs; W. W. FENN, Modern Liberalism; CHARLES J. BUSHNELL, Place of Religion in Modern Life; SHIRLEY J. CASE, Problem of Christianity's Essence; ERNEST D. BURTON, Spirit, Soul, and Flesh in Greek Writers from Homer to Aristotle; EDGAR J. GOODSPEED, The Freer Gospels; ROBINSON SMITH, Fresh Light on the Synoptic Problem.

*Bibliotheca Sacra*, Oberlin, October: RAYMOND L. BRIDGMAN, A Bureau of National Assistance; JACOB THE SON OF AARON, The Book of Enlightenment; W. ST. CLAIR TISDALL, New Solution of an Old Problem; J. J. LIAS, Genuineness of the Second Epistle of St. Peter; ALLISON E. DRAKE, Some Evidences of Aryo-Semitic Kinship; A. NOORDIZIJ, Old Testament Revelation of God and the Ancient Oriental Life; JAMES M. GRAY, Awakening of American Protestantism; HAROLD M. WIENER, Studies in Septuagintal Texts of Leviticus.

*Church Quarterly Review*, London, October: VISCOUNT WOLMER, Church and Parliament; ARTHUR CHANDLER, Saint Teresa; F. W. PULLER, Grace of Orders and Apostolic Succession; ELIZABETH WORDSWORTH, Jane Austen; MAURICE F. JONES, Language of the New Testament; J. G. SIMPSON, Presbyterian Reunion in Scotland; G. C. BOSANQUET, Christianity as a Gospel; H. F. HAMILTON, Canadian Unity Proposals.

*Constructive Quarterly*, New York, December: LÉONCE DE GRAND-MAISON, Witness of the Spirit; CHARLES E. JEFFERSON, The Church and World Brotherhood; PERCY DEARMER, Love in the Churches; JAMES LINDSAY, Protestantism and Catholicism: Two Methods even More than Two Religions; JAMES R. MACDONALD, Religion and the Labour Movement; T. A. FINLAY, Brotherhood Through Business; ERNST VON DOBSCHÜTZ, The Gospel and Asceticism; HUGH R. MACKINTOSH, Heart of the Gospel and the Preacher; MICHAEL KROSSNOGEON, Religious Freedom in Russia; ARTHUR J. BROWN, High Church Anglicans and American Presbyterians in Shantung University; EDWYN BEVAN, Invocation of the Saints; CHARLES JOHNSTON, Paul and Philo; WALTER LOCK, An English Mystic.

*East & West*, London, October: ARTHUR HIRTZEL, Imperial Christianity; ALAN G. S. GIBSON, Christianity among the Bantu in South Africa; FRANK LENWOOD, Revenges of Caste upon the Christian Church in India; STANLEY P. SMITH, Chinese Philosophy and the Truth as it is in Christ Jesus; LESLIE JOHNSTON, Supply of Missionaries—the Apostolic Way; CHARLES HALDON, Judson, of Burma.

*Expositor*, London, October: W. SANDAY, Text of the Apostolic Decrees; G. BUCHANAN GRAY, Forms of Hebrew Poetry. 5. Varieties of Rhythm; ALBERT SCHWEITZER, The Sanity of the "Eschatological" Jesus; F. R. TENNANT, Aim and Scope of Philosophy of Religion; T. R. GLOVER, Teaching of Jesus upon Sin as Shown in the First Three Gospels; ALLAN MENZIES, Integrity of 2 Corinthians; T. W. CRAFER, Stoning of St. Paul at Lystra and the Epistle to the Galatians. *The Same*, November: B. D. EERDMANS, Primitive Religious Thought in the Old Testament; JOHN MURPHY, Psychology of Religious Development and Experience; ALEX SOUTER, Pastoral Epistles, Timothy I and II; SCHWEITZER, The Sanity of the "Eschatological" Jesus; J. RENDEL HARRIS, Some Notes on the History of the Syriac New Testament; F. C. CONYBEARE, Stoning of St. Stephen; W. A. CURTIS, The Altar of Unhewn Stone. *The Same*, December: JOHANNES DAHSE, Reply to Principal Skinner; ARTHUR CARR, Patience of Job; ADAM C. WELCH, Present Position of Old Testament Criticism; G. BUCHANAN GRAY, Forms of Hebrew Poetry. 6. Bearing of Certain Critical Theories on Criticism and Interpretation; SCHWEITZER, Sanity of "Eschatological" Jesus.

*Expository Times*, Edinburgh, November: J. RENDEL HARRIS, The So-Called Biblical Greek; LOUIS H. GRAY, New Testament Fragments from Turkestan; B. B. WARFIELD, The Importunate Widow and the Alleged Failure of Faith; WILLIAM HAMILTON, Many Mansions for God. *The Same*, December: J. ARTHUR THOMSON, Biological Control

of Life; F. H. WOODS, Revision of the Prayer-Book Psalter; T. G. PINCHES, Ancestor Worship and the Deification of Babylonian Kings; B. B. WARFIELD, The Importunate Widow and the Alleged Failure of Faith.

*Harvard Theological Review*, Cambridge, October: KARL BORNHAUSEN, Study Religion, Theology, and the Churches of United States; CHARLES W. ELIOT, Churches and the Prevailing Social Sentiment; PRESERVED SMITH, Luther's Development of Doctrine of Justification by Faith Only; LUCIUS H. MILLER, Teaching of Ernst Troeltsch of Heidelberg; HERBERT A. YOUTZ, Peril of a Safe Theology; WILLIAM M. SALTER, An Introductory Word on Nietzsche; KEMPER FULLERTON, The Book of Isaiah: Critical Problems and a New Commentary.

*Hibbert Journal*, Boston, October: THEODORE ROOSEVELT, The Progressive Party; FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, Some Laymen's Needs; FREDERICK POLLOCK, The Relation of Mystic Experience to Philosophy; PRINGLE-PATTISON, "The Free Man's Worship"; ERNEST HAMILTON, Immortality and Competition; CHARLES E. OZANNE, Significance of "Non-Evidential Material" in Psychical Research; CECIL REDDIE, "The Public Schools and the Empire"; E. H. JONES, Evolution of the Social Conscience towards Crime and Industrialism; F. W. LEITH ROSS, International Morality; H. H. WENDT, Historical Trustworthiness of the Book of Acts; G. W. WADE, Miracles and Christianity; JOHN ERSKINE, The Moral Obligation to be Intelligent.

*Hindustan Review*, Allahabad, November: BISHAN N. DAR, Indian Progress and Anglo-Indian Opinion. II; P. C. GHOSH, European Intercourse with India during the Middle Ages; The Anti-Bengali Crusade; H. N. MAITRA, Rabindra Nath Tagore; J. N. SEN, History of the Portuguese Oppression in Bengal; K. L. L. OZA, A Short View of Great Questions; R. N. SINHA, Siva Sankar Sahay.

*International Journal of Ethics*, Philadelphia, October: G. F. BARBOUR, Christian Ethics and the Ideal of Nationality; H. S. SHELTON, Hegelian Concept of the State and Modern Individualism; HORACE M. KALLEN, Art, Philosophy, and Life; N. C. MUKERJI, Martineau on the Object and Mode of Moral Judgment; Proceedings of the Conference on Legal and Social Philosophy.

*Interpreter*, London, October: CANON KENNETT, Some Principles of Interpretation; G. W. WADE, The Resurrection in the Gospels and in St. Paul; CANON FOAKES-JACKSON, Literary Appreciation of the History of Israel; W. K. L. CLARKE, A Trinity of Evil; L. W. GRENSTED, Pain and Personality; R. W. BALLEINE, St. Paul in Arabia; A. T. CADOUX, Forgiveness, Human and Divine; C. H. W. JOHNS, Orientalia.

*Irish Theological Quarterly*, Dublin, October: HUGH POPE, Where Are We in Pentateuchal Criticism? THOMAS GOGARTY, Dawn of the Reformation II; FRANCIS E. GIGOT, Virgin Birth in St. Luke's Gospel; J. B. O'CONNELL, Idealism; FRANCIS ROLA, Modern Mysticism; LAURENTIUS JANSSENS, *Commissio Pontifica de re Biblica*.

*Jewish Quarterly Review*, Philadelphia, October: FRANK I. SCHECHTER, Rightlessness of Medieval English Jewry; B. HALPER, Scansion



of Medieval Hebrew Pottery; MAX RADIN, A Charter of Privileges of the Jews in Ancona of the Year 1535; NAHUM SLOUSCH, Representative Government among the Hebrews and Phoenicians.

*Jewish Review*, London, November: The Blood Accusation in Russia; Emancipation of the Roumanian Jew; Palestine and Panama; ISRAEL COHEN, General Survey of Modern Jewry; M. SIMON, Nachman Krochmal; HERBERT BENTWICH, Jewish Mission and the Hebrew University; ISAAH RAFFALOVICH, Legal Devices.

*Journal of Biblical Literature*, Boston, September: PAUL HAUPT, Cuneiform Name of the Second Adar; FREDERICK A. VANDERBURGH, Babylonian Name of Palestine; J. DYNELEY PRINCE, Ichabod; M. G. KYLE, The Hyksos at Heliopolis; WALDO S. PRATT, Studies in the Diction of the Psalter II; HENRY A. SANDERS, Latin Prologues of John; B. W. BACON, Genealogies of Jesus.

*Journal of Theological Studies*, London, October: C. BOUTFLOWER, Isaiah 21 in the Light of Assyrian History; J. PINKERTON, Origin and Early History of the Syriac Pentateuch; W. EMERY BARNES, New Edition of Pentateuch in Syriac; E. A. ABBOTT AND R. H. CONNOLLY, Original Language of the Odes of Solomon; W. K. L. CLARKE, First Epistle of Peter and the Odes of Solomon; C. H. TURNER, Primitive Edition of Apostolic Constitutions and Canons: an Early List of Apostles and Disciples; J. C. WEST, Order of 1 and 2 Thessalonians; E. G. KING, Some Notes on Text of Job; G. H. WHITAKER, Words of Agrippa to St. Paul.

*London Quarterly Review*, London, October: GEORGE G. FINDLAY, Methodist Missionary Centenary; SAINT NIHAL SINGH, Egypt's Impending Fate; H. MALDWYN HUGHES, The Evangelical Succession; W. ERNEST TOMLINSON, Cavour and his Times; F. W. ORDE WARD, Christ: The World's Failure and the World's Foundation; J. A. FINDLAY, A Protestant of the Second Century; FERRAND E. CORLEY, The Poverty of God.

*Lutheran Quarterly*, Gettysburg, October: ABDEL R. WENTZ, Significant Parallels between Church History and Political History of the United States; DAVID H. BAUSLIN, Impracticable Ideals in Church Unity; ELSIE S. LEWARS, Lutheran Institutions in the Battle of Gettysburg and its Anniversary; HAROLD HEISEY, Psychological Study of Religion; J. L. NEVE, Thoughts on Spinoza and his System; J. C. JACOBY, Confessional Principles of the Lutheran Church; V. G. A. TRESSLER, What Shall We Do with the Philosophy of Rudolph Fucken? C. W. HEATHCOTE, The Papacy since 1870.

*Methodist Review*, New York, November-December: W. I. HAVEN, Bishop Willard F. Mallalieu; THOS. S. DONOHUGH, "Mass Movements" in India; A. J. BUCHER, History and Present Condition of Church Singing; JAMES MUDGE, George Fox and the Quakers; PHILIP L. FRICK, Pragmatism and Haeckel's Denials; CHARLOTTE F. WILDER, Ancient Worthies—Christopher North; A. W. HEWITT, Steeples among the Hills.

*Methodist Review Quarterly*, Nashville, October: WILLIAM A. BROWN, Theological Leadership; HAROLD BEGBIE, A New Time-Spirit;



W. H. FITCHETT, The Towel and the Basin; H. W. CLARK, Ibsen and the Spirit of Revolt; WASHINGTON GLADDEN, The Call of the Kingdom; GEORGE B. FOSTER, Tolstoi; E. C. DARGAN, Charles Haddon Spurgeon; J. H. LIGHT, Son of Buzi; MARY N. MOORE, Shall Our Methodism Accord Women the Privileges of the Laity?; C. A. WATERFIELD, Lost: John Wesley; MRS. WILLIAM COURT, Social Service Lines of Home Mission Work; C. V. ROMAN, Racial Self-Respect and Racial Antagonism.

*Monist*, Chicago, October: BERTRAND RUSSELL, Philosophical Importance Mathematical Logic; RICHARD GARBE, Christian Element in the Bhagavadgita; ALBERT J. EDMUNDS, Accessibility of Buddhist Lore to the Christian Evangelist; ALFRED H. LLOYD, High Comedy of Philosophy; OTTO HERRMANN, Monism of German Monistic League; SYDNEY WATERLOW, "Interlingua" and the Problem of a Universal Language; C. L. MARSH, The Agnostic.

*Moslem World*, London, October: S. G. WILSON, Russia's Occupation of Northern Persia; Western Influences on Mohammedan Law; Islam from a Medical Standpoint; H. FRENCH RIDLEY, Moslems of China and the Republic; A. W. STOCKING, Education and Evangelization in Persia; C. S. G. MYLREA, Points of Contact or Contrast; W. ST. CLAIR TISDALL, Latest Mohammedan Mare's Nest; A. T. UPSON, Arabic Christian Literature since the Lucknow Conference.

*Philosophical Review*, Lancaster, November: BERNARD MUSCIO, Degrees of Reality; HENRY W. WRIGHT, Practical Success as the Criterion of Truth; DONALD W. FISHER, Problems of the Value-Judgment; NANN C. BARR, Dualism of Bergson.

*Reformed Church Review*, Lancaster, October: CORNELIUS WOELFKIN, Test of a Permanent Civilization; R. F. REED, Minister's Task in the Field of Theology; THEODORE F. HERMAN, Essential Elements of Religious Education; H. H. APFLE, Function of the College in the Making of a Man; PAUL B. RUPP, The Church and Modern Social Problems; RAY H. DOTTERER, Shall we Pray for Rain?; CLAYTON H. RANCK, Beneficiary Education in the Reformed Church; A. V. HIESTER, Contemporary Sociology.

*Review and Expositor*, Louisville, October: W. O. CARVER, Significance of Adoniram Judson; GALUSHA ANDERSON, Atonement Through Sympathy; E. B. POLLARD, Luther Rice and His Place in American Baptist History, II; SALLY N. ROACH, Love in its Relation to Service; GIOVANNI LUZZI, Modernism, II.

*Yale Review*, New Haven, October: ALFRED NOYES, A Watchword of the Fleet; WILLIAM G. SUMNER, Earth Hunger or the Philosophy of Land Grabbing; JOHN BURROUGHS, An Ever Present Mystery; J. B. BURY, The Fall of Constantinople; YANDELL HENDERSON, Progressive Movement and Constitutional Reform; LOUIS V. LEDOUX, A Sicilian Idyl; GAMALIEL BRADFORD, A Gentleman of Athens; BEULAH B. AMRAM, Giovanni Pascoli; HENRY A. PERKINS, The Schoolboy's Two Lost Years; JAMES W. TOUMEY, Who Should Own the Forests; EDWARD M. CHAPMAN, The New England of Sarah Orne Jewett.

*Union Seminary Review*, Richmond, October-November: T. C. JOHN-

SON, Dr. Givens Brown Strickler; A. M. SCALES, The Atlanta Assembly; THERON H. RICE, Our First Lesson in the School of Christ; THORNTON WHALING, The Church and Social Reform; E. C. GORDON, Christianity and Miracle.

*La Ciencia Tomista*, Madrid, Noviembre-Diciembre: NORBERTO DEL PRADO, El Problema ontológica (conclusion); ANTOLIN L. PELÁEZ, Valor de la prensa periódica; LUIS G. A. GETINO, De Vitoria a Godoy. La edad de oro de San Esteban de Salamanca; FRANCISCO TRAPIELLO, Apreciaciones sobre la doctrina molinista.

*Lehre und Wehre*, St. Louis, September: D. Walther über Behandlung der Logenfrage; Das erste Auftreten der römischen Kirche in Nordamerika und die Religionsfreiheit; Die trunkene Wissenschaft; was sie will, und warum wir wenig Respekt vor ihr haben (Schluss). *The Same*, Oktober: Die "Wahl zum Glauben" ausdrücklich in der Schrift gelehrt; Etwas über die Gleichnisse unsers Herrn, sonderlich über ihren dreisachen Zweck; Das erste Auftreten der römischen Kirche in Nordamerika und die Religionsfreiheit. *The Same*, November: Die Tennesseesynode; Etwas über die Gleichnisse unseres Herrn, sonderlich über ihren dreifachen Zweck.

*Recherches de Science Religieuse*, Paris, Novembre-December: XAVIER ROIRON, Saint Paul témoin de la primauté de saint Pierre; LEOPOLD CADIÈRE, Les religions de l'Annam; JOSEPH DE GUIBERT, Sur l'emploi d' ἐλπίς et de ses synonymes dans le Nouveau Testament; LOUIS LAURAND, La théorie du cursus dans saint Augustin; PROSPER SCHEPENS, Un anonyme patristique, cite par Fauste de Riez; JOSEPH DE GHELLINCK, Un épisode dans l'histoire de l'argument patristique au moyen âge; JEAN BAINVEL, D'un désaccord entre saint Thomas poète et saint Thomas théologian; CUTHBERT LATTEY, Sur un exemplaire d'Astruc.

*Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, Roma, Settembre: PERICLE DUCATI, Esegisi di una Pelike Attica da Jouz-Oba; MATTEO DELLA CORTE, Il Pomerium di Pompei; F. MASCI, La Filosofia dei Valori; C. CONTI ROSSINI, Schizzo del dialetto Saho dell'Alta Assaorta in Eritrea.

*Revue Benedictine*, Paris, Octobre: G. MORIN, Discours inedit de saint Augustin pour l'ordination d'un évêque; O. CASEL, Eine missverständene Stelle Cyprians; D. DE BRUYNE, De l'origine de quelques textes liturgiques mozarabes; A. WILMART, L'index liturgique de Saint-Thierry; H. LECLERCQ, La liturgie catholique; G. MORIN, Une restitution en faveur d'Alcuin.

*Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique*, Louvain, Octobre: L. DIEU, Le commentaire sur Jérémie du Pseudo-Chrysostome serait-il l'oeuvre de Polychronius d'Apamée?; L. LAURAND, Le cursus dans le sacramentaire léonien; J. DE GHELLINCK, Les notes marginales du Liber sententiarum (fin); CH. MOELLER, Les bûchers et les auto-de-fé de l'inquisition depuis le moyen âge (fin).

*Revue de Theologie et de Philosophie*, Lausanne, Septembre: ARNOLD REYMOND, La philosophie de M. Bergson et le probleme de la raison; HUGO GRESSMANN, La science de l'Ancien Testament et la tâche

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